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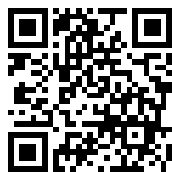
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The
Journal of Theological Studies

VOLUME XIX

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD
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THE following bibliography of the published works of Dr Swete was offered to the JOURNAL, of which he was the founder, by Mr C. H. Turner, its first editor, 'as a small contribution to the perpetuation of his memory'. Mr Turner prepared the list down to the year 1900 inclusive.

The remaining part of the bibliography has been supplied chiefly by Mr A. Rogers of the Cambridge University Library.

It is hoped that a collected volume of the more important of Dr Swete's occasional papers, printed and unprinted, may be published soon. He had himself selected the items which might constitute such a volume.

A.

1. [1860].

TWO SIDES TO EVERY QUESTION: OR NINE QUESTIONS TO THE BAPTISTS WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR REPLY. By H. B. Swete, B.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge; and Curate of Blagdon, Somerset. 'I speak as to wise men: judge ye what I say.' 1 Cor. x 15. London: Wertheim Macintosh and Hunt, 24 Paternoster Row and 23 Holles Street, Cavendish Square. Bristol: I. E. Chillcott, Clare Street. 1860. Price Sixpence.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

To the flock of God
at Blagdon,

With an earnest prayer that, as brethren in Christ,
they may ever more and more
dwell together in unity.

Pp. vi, 7-44.

2. [1863].

WHAT IS THE RIGHT METHOD OF CONDUCTING THE DEFENCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE RATIONALISTIC CONTROVERSY WHICH HAS COME UPON THE CHURCH? A paper read at a meeting of clergy in the deanery of Axbridge, February 26, 1863. By H. B. Swete, M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cam-

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bridge, and Curate of Blagdon, Somerset. London: Wertheim Macintosh and Hunt, 24 Paternoster Row and 23 Holles Street, Cavendish Square. 1863. Price Fourpence.

Pp. 16.

3, 4. [1863], [1866].

S. PAUL'S EPISTLES. THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS. WITH AN INTRODUCTION, EXPLANATORY NOTES, PRACTICAL THOUGHTS, AND PRAYERS, FOR PRIVATE AND FAMILY USE. By Edward Headland, M.A., Rector of Broadwey, Dorset, late Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and Senior Curate of S. Marylebone, London; and Henry Barclay Swete, M.A., Fellow of Caius College, and Curate of Blagdon, Somerset. London: Hatchard and Co., 187 Piccadilly. 1863.

(*On the reverse side of the title-page*)

'Whence is it that [this blessed Apostle] dwells upon the lips of all men throughout the world? that he is admired . . . not amongst ourselves alone, but even amongst Jews and Greeks? Is it not from the excellence of his Epistles? Whereby he benefited the faithful, not only of that age, but those who lived from his day to ours; yea, and will yet benefit those that are to be until the coming of Christ.' S. Chrysost. de Sacerd. iv 7.

followed by the Collect for the feast of the Conversion of St Paul.

(*On the last page*)

'Behold! he cometh with clouds . . . even so, Amen.' Rev. i 7.

Pp. xxxiv, 35-206.

S. PAUL'S EPISTLES. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS, WITH AN INTRODUCTION (*&c. as before, save that Mr Swete is now described only as Fellow of Caius College*). London: Hatchard and Co., 187 Piccadilly, Booksellers to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales. 1866.

(*On the reverse side of the title-page*)

'Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law (as much of Moses' Law was): but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Spirit.' Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

followed by the Collect for the feast of the Circumcision.

Pp. xvi, 17-160.

[In the preface to the earlier of the two volumes it is explained that the Practical Thoughts, Prayers, and selection of Hymns, besides the first section of the Introduction, were Mr Headland's work, the rest Mr Swete's: but each editor freely and carefully revised the other's portion.]

5. [1868].

ENGLAND VERSUS ROME: A BRIEF HANDBOOK OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY FOR THE USE OF MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By Henry Barclay Swete, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δὲ οὐ γέγονεν οὕτως. Rivingtons: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1868.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

'She mourns that tender hearts should bend
Before a meaner shrine,
And upon Saint or Angel spend
The love that should be Thine.'

(from the Christian Year.)

(On the last page)

ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩΝ ΕΠΑΓΩΝΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ Τῇ ἈΠΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΘΕΙΧ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ.

Pp. viii, 224.

5b. [1872]. *An Italian translation of the above.*

PARAGONE DOTTRINALE TRA LA CHIESA ROMANA E LA CHIESA INGLESE. Per Enrico B. Swete, dell' Università di Cambridge. Libreria Loescher: Torino, Firenze e Roma. 1872.

Pp. 222.

6. [1873].

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT: WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. By H. B. Swete, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College. Ζῶμεν Πνεύματι. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. London: George Bell and Sons. 1873.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

Deus Qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus illustratione docuisti: da nobis in Eodem Spiritu recta sapere et de Ejus semper consolatione gaudere. per Dominum nostrum. in unitate Ejusdem Spiritus.

(On the last page)

τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ πρέπει δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ συνανάρχῳ αὐτοῦ γίῳ καὶ λόγῳ ᾧμα τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελεγήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Pp. 100.

7. [1875].

THEODORUS LASCARIS JUNIOR, DE PROCESSIONE SPIRITUS SANCTI ORATIO APOLOGETICA. Ad fidem codicum edidit H. B. Swete, S.T.B., Coll. Gonv.-Cai. Soc. ἵνα ᾧσιν ἐν. S. Joann. 17, 22.

bridge, and Curate of Blagdon, Somerset. Lond
Macintosh and Hunt, 24 Paternoster Row and 23
Cavendish Square. 1863. Price Fourpence.

Pp. 16.

3, 4. [1863], [1866].

S. PAUL'S EPISTLES. THE EPISTLES TO THE T
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, EXPLANATORY NOT
THOUGHTS, AND PRAYERS, FOR PRIVATE AND
By Edward Headland, M.A., Rector of Broadw
Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and Sec
S. Marylebone, London; and Henry Barclay
Fellow of Caius College, and Curate of Blag
London: Hatchard and Co., 187 Piccadilly. 1

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

'Whence is it that [this blessed Apostle] dwells
all men throughout the world? that he is ad
amongst ourselves alone, but even amongst Jew
Is it not from the excellence of his Epistles
benefited the faithful, not only of that age, but
from his day to ours; yea, and will yet benefit t
be until the coming of Christ.' S. Chrysost. de :

followed by the Collect for the feast of the Conversion

(On the last page)

'Behold! he cometh with clouds . . . even so, Ar
Pp. xxxiv, 35-206.

S. PAUL'S EPISTLES. THE EPISTLE TO THE GA
AN INTRODUCTION (&c. as before, save that Mr
described only as Fellow of Caius College). Lond
and Co., 187 Piccadilly, Booksellers to H.R.H.
Wales. 1866.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

'Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law (as m
Law was): but it is a religion to serve God, not
the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Sp
to the Book of Common Prayer.

followed by the Collect for the feast of the Circumcision

Pp. xvi, 17-160.

[In the preface to the earlier of the two vol:
that the Practical Thoughts, Prayers, and
besides the first section of the Introduction,
work, the rest Mr Swete's: but each editor
revised the other's portion.]

)
 ἡ θεία γραφή δια-
 c. Phot. *biblioth.*

TO THE SEPTUAGINT.
 Press by Henry Bar-
 Gonville and Caius
 Cambridge: at the

wing changes
 f Gonville and Caius
 ol. II. 1 Chronicles—

lowing
 t.D. Dublin, Fellow of
 Professor of Divinity.
 94.
of Solomon: p. 764)

nticles: p. 788)
 C ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΑΙC.
'unsubstantial variants':

Vol. I 1895, Vol. II 1896,

Vol. I 1897,

Londini, item Edinae: apud Williams et Norgate. Jenae: typis Fr. Frommanni. MDCCCLXXV.

[Greek title p. 1: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΚΟΤΡΩΝΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΑΤΙΝΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ].

Pp. iv, 24.

8. [1876].

ON THE HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE. By H. B. Swete, B.D., Fellow and Divinity Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. London: George Bell and Sons. 1876.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

PER TE SCIAMUS DA PATREM
NOSCAMUS ATQUE FILIUM:
TE UTRIUSQUE SPIRITUM
CREDAMUS OMNI TEMPORE.

(On the reverse side of the next leaf)

ἔξαποστελεῖς τὸ Πνεῦμά σου καὶ κτισθήσονται' καὶ ἀνακαινίεις τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.

(On the reverse side of the next leaf)

SI QUA DE MEO, ET TU IGNOSCE ET TUI.

Pp. viii, 248.

9, 10. [1880, 1882].

THEODORI EPISCOPI MOPSUESTENI IN EPISTOLAS B. PAULI COMMENTARIJ. THE LATIN VERSION WITH THE GREEK FRAGMENTS. WITH AN INTRODUCTION NOTES AND INDICES. By H. B. Swete, B.D., Rector of Ashdon, Essex; late Senior Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. In two volumes. Vol. I. Introduction. Galatians-Colossians. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1880.

(On the reverse side of the table of contents: p. viii)

'Si quid forte minus intellegens Theodorus male scripsit, sufficit nobis respuere, nec sub anathemate condemnare . . . haereticum enim non humanae infirmitatis ignorantia, sed pervicacia facit.' Facund. Herm. c. Mocian.

Vol. II: a similar title-page, save for the following

In two volumes. Vol. II. 1 Thessalonians-Philemon. Appendices. Indices . . . 1882.

(*On the reverse side of the table of contents: p. viii*)

Ἔοικεν δὲ φιλοπονώτερον περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἡμῶν καὶ θεῖαν γραφὴν δια-
τεθῆναι, εἰ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς παρασύρεται τῆς ἀληθείας. Phot. *biblioth.*
cod. clxxvii.

Pp. lxxxviii, 312; viii, 378.

II, 12, 13. [1887, 1891, 1894].

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT.

Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Honorary Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Vol. I. Genesis—4 Kings. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1887.

Vol. II: *a similar title-page, save for the following changes*

by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. Vol. II. 1 Chronicles—Tobit . . . 1891.

Vol. III: *a similar title-page, save in the following*

by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D. Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. Vol. III. Hosea—4 Maccabees. . . . 1894.

(*After the canonical books, before the Psalms of Solomon: p. 764*)

τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν Ἱεροῦσαλὴμ.

(*After the Psalms of Solomon, before the Canticles: p. 788*)

λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς.

(*In each volume, before the Appendix of 'unsubstantial variants':*

I 804, II 850, III 814)

ἵνα μὴ τι ἀπόληται.

Pp. xxviii, 829; xvi, 880; xx, 880.

11 b, 12 b, 13 b. *Second edition of the above: Vol. I 1895, Vol. II 1896, Vol. III 1899.*

11 c, 12 c, 13 c. *Third edition of the above: Vol. I 1901, Vol. II 1907, Vol. III 1912.*

11 d. *Fourth edition of Vol. I of the above, 1909.*

14. [1889]. *Excerpted from Vol. II of the above, No. 12, though published before it.*

THE PSALMS IN GREEK ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Honorary Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1889.

6 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(Between the preface and the text: p. xv)

εὐθγμεῖ τις; ψαλλέτω.

ΔΙΔΑΣΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΨΑΛΜΟΙΣ.

Pp. xvi, 213-416, [1]-[8].

14 b. [1896].

Second edition of the above, with the Canticles added, 1896.

Before the Canticles

ἵνα μὴ τι ἀπόληται.

Pp. xvi, 213-416, 789-812, [1]-[8].

15. [1899]. *Excerpted from the second edition of Vol. III of the above, No. 13 b.*

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON WITH THE GREEK FRAGMENTS OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D. Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1899.

(Before the Psalms of Solomon: p. viii)

τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λῦτρωσιν Ἱερογλαφίμ.

(Before the fragments of Enoch: p. 24)

ἐπροφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνώχ.

Pp. viii, 50.

16. [1892].

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST PETER: THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENT. London: Macmillan and Co.: and New York. 1892. [Preface signed H. B. S.]

(On page 15)

πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάσασθαι διήγησιν.

ὁ τῶν ἀπάντων τεχνίτης λόγος ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χειροβίμ καὶ συνέχων τὰ πάντα, φανερωθεὶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐνὶ δὲ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον.

Pp. 16.

16 b. [1893]. *Second edition of the above.*

Title-page as before, but with the words Revised Edition, with some corrections from the MS added.

Pp. viii, 8.

17. [1893].

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΝ. THE AKHMİM FRAGMENT OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST PETER. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. Swete, D.D., Hon.

Litt.D. Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London: Macmillan and Co.: and New York. 1893.

(*On p. viii the second motto given under no. 16*)

Pp. xlviii, 34.

18. [1893].

OUR LIVING CREED. By the Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D., Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. [Sermon X in CAMBRIDGE SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY IN ST MARY'S CHURCH 1889-1892, selected and edited by C. H. Prior, M.A. Methuen and Co. 1893: pp. 147-167, preached on Trinity Sunday, June 12, 1892.]

19. [1894].

THE APOSTLES' CREED: ITS RELATION TO PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. By H. B. Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D. Dublin; Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane. 1894.

(*On page 8*)

ΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ἔΘΝΗ, ΒΑΠΤΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ Αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γιου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

(*On page 111*)

ἀνάγκη ἐσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἁπλῇ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει.

Pp. 112.

20. [1895].

FAITH IN ITS RELATION TO CREED, THOUGHT AND LIFE. Three short addresses by H. B. Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D. Dublin, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. *Manent fides, spes, caritas*. Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. London, S.P.C.K. . . . 1895.

Pp. 48.

21. [1896].

CHURCH SERVICES AND SERVICE-BOOKS BEFORE THE REFORMATION. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. . . . 1896.

(*On page 2*)

To M. B. S.

Pp. 230.

22. [1896].

ON THE BULL *APOSTOLICAE CURAE*. A lecture delivered at the Divinity School, Cambridge, on Friday, November 6, 1896, by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes. 1896.

(*On page 4*)

ΜΗ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΖΥΓῶ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΧΕΣΘΕ.

Pp. 28.

23. [1898].

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MARK: THE GREEK TEXT WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D. Dublin, Regius Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898.

(*On the reverse side of the title-page*)

Deus qui nobis per ministerium beati Marci Evangelistae tui veritatem evangelii patefieri voluisti: concede, quaesumus, ut quod ab illius ore didicimus gratia tua adiuti operari valeamus. Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

(*On the reverse side of the Table of Contents: p. viii*)

Μάρκον ἀναλαβὼν ἄγε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ· ἔστιν γάρ μοι εὐχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν. ἀσπάζεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς . . . Μάρκος ὁ γιός μου.

Pp. cx, 412.

23 b. [1902]. *Second edition of the above.*

Title-page as before, save for the addition of Hon. D.D., Glasgow (after Hon. Litt.D., Dublin) and the year 1902.

On the reverse side of the Table of Contents a third motto is added

Μάρκος μὲν, ἐρμηνεύτης Πέτρος γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν.

Pp. cxx, 434.

24. [1900].

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D., Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. With an appendix containing the Letter of Aristæus edited by H. St J. Thackeray, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1900.

(*On the reverse side of the title-page*)

ἔξεγερῶ τὰ τέκνα σου, Σειῶν, ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

(On the following page)

EBERHARDO NESTLE | PH. ET TH. D. | VIRO, SI QVIS ALIVS, DE
HIS STVDIIS | OPTIME MERITO | HVIVS OPERIS ADIVTORI
HVMANISSIMO.

Pp. xiv, 592.

24 b. [1914]. *Second edition of the above, revised by R. R. Ottley.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK. By
Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., F.B.A., Hon. D.Litt. Oxford, Hon.
Litt.D. Dublin, Hon. D.D. Glasgow, Fellow of Gonville and
Caius College, Cambridge, Regius Professor of Divinity.
Revised by Richard Rusden Ottley, M.A., sometime Scholar of
Trinity College. With an appendix containing the Letter of
Aristeas edited by H. St J. Thackeray, M.A., sometime Scholar
of King's College. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1914.

(On the reverse side of the title-page: motto as before)

(On the following page)

IN PIAM MEMORIAM | EBERHARDI NESTLE | PH. ET TH. D. |
VIRI, SI QVIS ALIVS, DE HIS STVDIIS | OPTIME MERITI | HVIVS
OPERIS ADIVTORIS HVMANISSIMI.

Pp. xvi, 626.

25. [1902].

PATRISTIC STUDY. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius
Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London:
Longmans, Green and Co., New York and Bombay, 1902.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

In ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id
teneamus quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus creditum
est.

Pp. xi, 194. 8°.

26. [1903].

STUDIES IN THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD. By Henry Barclay
Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the Uni-
versity of Cambridge. εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος. London:
Hodder and Stoughton. 1903.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

To E. J. S.

(After p. 186)

οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος. St John vii 46.

Pp. 186. 8°.

Other editions 1910, 1913.

27. [1905].

ESSAYS ON SOME THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. By Members of the University of Cambridge. Edited by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Fellow of the British Academy. *καινὰ καὶ παλαιά*. London: Macmillan and Co. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905.

Pp. x, 599. 8^o.

28. [1906].

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST JOHN. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D. Dublin; Hon. D.D. Glasgow; Regius Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; Fellow of the British Academy. London: Macmillan and Co. 1906.

(*On the reverse side of the title-page*)

Ecclesiam tuam, quaesumus, Domine, benignus illustra, ut Beati Iohannis . . . illuminata doctrinis ad dona perueniat sempiterna. Per Dominum.

Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui . . . unigenitum tuum Redemptorem nostrum ad caelos ascendisse credimus, ipsi quoque mente in caelestibus habitemus. Per eundem.

Excita, quaesumus, Domine, potentiam tuam et ueni, et magna nobis uirtute succurre, ut auxilium gratiae tuae quod nostra peccata praepediunt indulgentia tuae propitiationis acceleret. Qui uiuis.

(*On p. v*)

VIRO · ADMODVM · REVERENDO · | FREDERICO · HENRICO ·
CHASE · S.T.P. | EPISCOPO · ELIENSI · | APVD · CANTABRI-
GIENSES · NVPER · PROFESSORI · NORRISIANO · | OBSERVANTIAE ·
ERGO · AMICITIAEQVE · | STVDIA · HAEC · APOCALYPTICA · QVALIA-
CVMQVE · | DEDICO ·

(*On page xii—reverse side of Contents*)

IOHANNES APOCALYPTISTA

Caelum transit, veri rotam
solis uidit, ibi totam
mentis figens aciem:
speculator spiritalis
quasi seraphim sub alis
Dei uidit faciem.

audiit in gyro sedis
 quid psallant cum citharoedis
 quater seni proceres :
 de sigillo Trinitatis
 nostrae nummo ciuitatis
 impressit characteres.
 uolat auis sine meta
 quo nec uates nec propheta
 euolauit altius :
 tam implenda quam impleta
 nunquam uidit tot secreta
 purus homo purius.

Pp. cxvi, 335. 8°.

- 28b. [1907]. *Second edition of the above.*

Title-page as before except that Hon. Canon of Ely *is substituted for*
 Fellow of the British Academy.

Pp. ccxx, 338. 8°.

29. [1907].

THE APPEARANCES OF OUR LORD AFTER THE PASSION. A Study
 in the earliest Christian Tradition. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D.,
 Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.
παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν. Macmillan and
 Co. London: 1907.

(*On p. v*) To E. L. S.

(*On p. vi—facing the Foreword*) The Third Day He Rose again
 according to the Scriptures, and Ascended into Heaven, and
 Sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father.

(*On p. xx—facing Chapter I*) When Thou hadst overcome the
 sharpness of Death, Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven
 to all Believers.

Pp. xx, 152. 8°.

30. [1908].

ZWEI NEUE EVANGELIENFRAGMENTE. Herausgegeben und erklärt
 von Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Professor in Cambridge.
 Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag. 1908. Preis 0,40 M.
 (Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen
 und Übungen. Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. 31.)

Pp. 16. 8°.

31. [1909].

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. A STUDY OF
 PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN TEACHING. By Henry Barclay Swete,

D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely. τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ζωοποιούν.
London: Macmillan and Co. 1909.

(On page v)

To the Master of Trinity.

(On the reverse side of the Table of Contents)

οὐχ ἕτερον μὲν ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, ἕτερον δὲ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις καὶ ἀποστόλοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑστὶ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἄγιον τὸ ἐν παλαιᾷ τε καὶ καινῇ διαθήκῃ τὰς θείας λαλήσαν γραφάς.

Cyril of Jerusalem.

(On page 8)

γεννᾶται Χριστός; προτρέχει· βαπτίζεται; μαρτυρεῖ· πειράζεται; ἀνάγει· δυνάμεις ἐπιτελεῖ; συμπαραμαρτεῖ· ἀνέρχεται; διαδέχεται.

πνεῦμα τὸ . . . λαλοῦν, ἀποστέλλον, ἀφορίζον . . . διαιροῦν χαρίσματα, ποιοῦν ἀποστόλους, προφῆτας, εὐαγγελιστάς, ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους.

Gregory of Nazianzus.

Pp. x, 417. 8°.

32. [1909].

ESSAYS ON SOME BIBLICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. By Members of the University of Cambridge. Edited by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity. ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γραφάς.
London: Macmillan and Co. 1909.

(After Subjects and Contributors: p. xii)

Σὺ οὖν, κύριε υἱέ, προηγουμένος πρόσεχε τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει· ἀλλὰ πρόσεχε. πολλῆς γὰρ προσοχῆς ἀναγινώσκοντες τὰ θεῖα δεόμεθα ἵνα μὴ προπετέστερον εἰπωμέν τινα ἢ νοήσωμεν περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ προσέχων τῇ τῶν θείων ἀναγνώσει μετὰ πιστῆς καὶ θεῶ ἀρεσκούσης προλήψεως, κροῦε τὰ κεκλεισμένα αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀνοιγέσεται σοι ἐπὶ τοῦ θυρωροῦ.

Origen, *ep. ad Gregorium*.

Pp. xii, 556. 8°.

33. [1910].

THE ASCENDED CHRIST. A STUDY IN THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN TEACHING. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely. πορεύομαι ἐτοιμάσαι τόπον ὑμῖν. London: Macmillan and Co. 1910.

(On page v) To the memory of C. A. S. S. and A. R. S.

(On page vi) μέγα ἔστιν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὃς
ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ὥφθη ἀγγέλοις
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεγέθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν λούζῃ.

(*On page xvi*) ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς,
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
Pp. xvi, 168. 8°.

34. [1912].

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH. A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING IN THE AGE OF THE FATHERS. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., D.Litt., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely; Hon. Chaplain to the King. τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη. London: Macmillan and Co. 1912.

(*On page v*) To the Memory of Ernest Stewart Roberts, M.A. Master of Gonville and Caius (1903-1912).

(*On page x—preceding the Foreword*)

ἔστιν . . . πνεῦμα νοερὸν, ἄγιον, μονογενές, πολυμερές, λεπτόν, ἐγκίνητον, τραχὺν, ἀνούλητον, σαφές, ἀπῆμαντον, φιλάγαθον, ὀξύ, ἀκώλυτον, ἐγερgeticόν, φιλόανθρωπον, βέβαιον, ἀσφαλές, ἀμέριμνον, παντοδύναμον, πανεπισκοπον, καὶ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων νοερῶν καθαρῶν λεπτοτάτων.

Wisdom of Solomon.

(*On page 8—preceding Part I*)

SANCTUS, SANCTUS, SANCTUS, DOMINUS DEUS SABAOTH,
PLENI SUNT CAELI ET TERRA MAIESTATIS GLORIAE TUAÆ.

* * * * *

TE PER ORBEM TERRARUM SANCTA CONFITETUR ECCLESIA;
PATREM INMENSÆ MAIESTATIS,
VENERANDUM TUUM UERUM ET UNICUM FILIUM,
SANCTUM QUOQUE PARACLETUM SPIRITUM.

(*On page 160—preceding Part II*)

PROFUNDA TUA SANCTUS SPIRITUS TUUS, SECUNDUM APOSTOLUM, SCRUTATUR ET NOVIT, ET INTERPELLATOR PRO ME TUUS INENARRABILIA A ME TIBI LOQUITUR: ET EGO NATURAE SUÆ EX TE PER UNIGENITUM TUUM MANENTIS POTENTIAM CREATIONIS NOMINE NON MODO ELOQUAR SED ETIAM INFAMABO?

Hilary of Poitiers.

(*On page 356—preceding Part III*)

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον. κοὶ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἀρκοῦντως ἔχει τὰ εἰρημένα, τοῦτο πέρας ἔστω τοῦ περὶ τοῦτων λόγου· εἰ δὲ ἑλλιπῶς ἔχειν δοῖται, φθόνος οἵδε εἰς φιλοπόνησιν προσεδρεύοντα τῇ ζητῇ δι' ἐρωτήσεως ἀφιλονείκου προστιθέναι τῇ γνώσει. δώσει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἢ δι' ἡμῶν ἢ δι' ἐτέρων τῶν λειπόντων τὴν πληρώσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχορηγομένην τοῖς ἀξίοις αὐτοῦ γνώσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

Basil.

Pp. viii, 429. 8°.

35. [1913].

THE LAST DISCOURSE AND PRAYER OF OUR LORD. A STUDY OF ST JOHN XIV–XVII. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely; Hon. Chaplain to the King.

οἱ δὲ ποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος.

Κύριε, διδάξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι.

London: Macmillan and Co. 1913.

(On page v) To the Memory of E. H. W. S., S. A. S., F. S. B.

(On page vi—facing the Foreword)

Αἰτός. ὦ Φαῖδων. παρεγένου Σωκράτει ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τὸ φάρμακον ἔπιεν ἐν τῷ δεσποτέρῳ, ἢ ἄλλον τοῖ ἡκούσας; Φαῖδ. Αἰτός, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες. Ἐχ. Τί οὖν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτὰ εἶπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου; . . . ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν ἐγὼ ἀκοῦσαιμι.

Plato, *Phaed.*

(On page xviii—facing The Last Discourse, Part I)

ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΕ ΤΡΑΠΑΙ

ἵνα πιστεύητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός,

ὁ γιὼς τοῦ Θεοῦ,

καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες

ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

(On page xiv) ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΕ ΤΡΑΠΑΙ ἵνα πιστεύητε.

Pp. xviii, 187. 8^o.

36. [1914].

THE ANCIENT CREEDS IN MODERN LIFE. A Lecture given to the Cambridge Local Lectures Summer Meeting, 1914. By H. B. Swete, D.D., F.B.A., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. καρδία πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν—Rom. x 10. London: S.P.C.K. 1914.

Pp. 32.

37. [1915].

THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH: THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS. A STUDY IN THE APOSTLES' CREED. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Late Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely; Hon. Chaplain to the King.

ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα.

ἐὰν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατῶμεν, ὡς αἰτός ἐστιν

ἐν τῷ φωτί, κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' ἀλλήλων.

London: Macmillan and Co. 1915.

- (*On page v*) Ecclesiae Anglicanae
Matri Carissimae.
- (*On page 2*) Te per Orbem Terrarum
Sancta Confitetur Ecclesia.
- (*On page 46—reverse side of II. The Communion of Saints*)
 ΠΡΟΣΕΛΗΓΘΑΤΕ . . . ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΟΤΕΚΩΝ . . .
 ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΕΛΕΙΩΜΕΝΩΝ.
- Pp. x, 265. 8°.

38. [1916].

THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. A STUDY IN THE APOSTLES' CREED.

By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Emeritus
Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely; Hon.
Chaplain to the King.

ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
ἂν τινων ἀφήτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας,
ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς.

London: Macmillan and Co. 1916.

(*On page v*) PRESBYTERIS COMPRESBYTER.

(*On page 2*)

ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ὁ θεὸς οἰκτεῖρων καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολγέλεος καὶ
ἀληθινός . . . ἀφαιρῶν ἁνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ οὐ καθαριεῖ
τὸν ἔνοχον.

Exod. xxxiv 6, 7.

ἐάν τις ἀμάρτη, παράκλητον ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
δικαίον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐ περὶ τῶν
ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

1 John ii 1, 2.

Pp. xiv, 197. 8°.

39. [1917].

THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME. Six Addresses given by the
late Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Emeritus
Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Fellow of Gonville and Caius
College, Cambridge; Hon. Canon of Ely; Hon. Chaplain to
the King. With a portrait.

**'An inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that
fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you.'**

Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, London; New
York: The Macmillan Company. 1917.

(On the reverse side of the title-page)

I LOOK FOR THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD, AND THE LIFE
OF THE WORLD TO COME.

(On the following page)

TO | THE FRIENDS AND FELLOW MEMBERS OF | THE CHURCH AT
HITCHIN, | TO WHOM HE CONSTANTLY SPOKE AND MINISTERED, |
AND WHO GAVE HIM IN RETURN | GOODWILL AND RESPECTFUL
AFFECTION, | THESE ADDRESSES | ARE DEDICATED BY THE |
DESIRE OF | HENRY BARCLAY SWETE.

Pp. xii, 114.

B. *Articles and Papers.*

i. [1859].

THE ROMAN JEW OF THE FIRST CENTURY. From *The*
for May 1859: pp. 318-322.

ii. [1866].

ON THE UNITY OF THE TWO TESTAMENTS. From *The Christian*
Advocate and Review, April 1866: pp. 244-249.

iii. [1866].

ON THE NEW ORDER OF MINISTRANTS IN THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND. From *The Christian Advocate and Review*, Sept.
1866: pp. 547 ff.

iv. [1882].

Article HOLY GHOST in Smith and Wace *Dictionary of Christian*
Biography (London, John Murray) vol. iii (1882) pp. 113-133.

v. [1887].

Article THEODORUS OF MOPSUESTIA in the same *Dictionary*
vol. iv (1887) pp. 934-948.

vi. [1889].

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF ASSANDUNA WITH ASHDON. A paper
read at a joint meeting of the Essex Archaeological Society and
the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 24, 1889, and reprinted
(with others) from the *Cambridge Chronicle*, May 31 and
June 7, 1889.

vii. [1890].

CLERICAL STUDIES. A paper read before the London Junior
Clergy Society on Tuesday, April 15, 1890. By the Rev. H. B.
Swete, D.D., late Rector of Ashdon, Essex: Regius Professor of
Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Printed at the request
of the Society.

viii. [1891].

GRAKTZ'S THEORY OF THE LXX. In *The Expository Times*
vol. ii (1891) p. 209. 1891.

ix. [1892].

JOSEPHUS ON ALEXANDER'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM. In *The Expository Times* vol. iii (1892) pp. 300, 427.

x. [1894].

SCHLEUSNER'S THESAURUS (LXX). In *The Expository Times* vol. v (1894) p. 539.

xi. [1894].

THE PERSON OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. A paper read at the Devotional Meeting of the Exeter Church Congress in Exeter Cathedral, Oct. 12, 1894: printed on pp. 692-698 of the Report of the Congress.

xii. [1897].

THE OXYRHYNCHUS FRAGMENT. A lecture delivered at Cambridge, July 29, 1897, to the Summer Meeting of Clergy: printed in *The Expository Times* vol. viii (Sept. 1897) pp. 540-550, 568.

xiii. [1898].

MATTHEW iv 23, ix 35. In *The Expository Times* vol. x (1898) p. 127.

xiv. [1899].

Article HOLY SPIRIT in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark) vol. ii (1899) pp. 402-411.

xv. [1899].

BOOKS TO STUDY ON THE TRINITY. In *The Expository Times* vol. x (1899) p. 511.

xvi. [1899].

Review of NESTLE'S *Septuagint Studies* in *The Expository Times* vol. xi (1899) p. 38.

xvii. [1900].

Note appended to Dr Nestle's Review of DR SWETE'S *The Gospel according to St Mark* in *The Expository Times* vol. xi (1900) p. 330.

xviii. [1900].

Article LAYING ON OF HANDS in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark) vol. iii (1900) pp. 84, 85.

xix. [1901].

Review of *The Apocalypse* by EDWARD WHITE BENSON, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. ii (Jan. 1901) pp. 302-305.

xx. [1902].

EUCCHARISTIC BELIEF IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iii (Jan. 1902) pp. 161-177.

xxi. [1902].

MATT. xxviii 16-20. An exposition given to a gathering of past and present members of the Cambridge Clergy Training School, held at Westcott House, July 7-9, 1902: printed in *The Expositor* vol. vi pp. 241-259 (Oct. 1902).

xxii. [1903].

PENITENTIAL DISCIPLINE IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iv (April 1903) pp. 321-327.

xxiii. [1903].

THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE (the first three Gospels) in *Critical Questions*: being a course of Sermons delivered in St Mark's Church, Marylebone Road, N.W. By Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D., Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D., Rev. A. Robertson, D.D., Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., Rev. A. C. Headlam, M.A. With a Preface by Rev. James Adderley (London: S. C. Brown, Langham and Company, Ltd. 1903).

xxiv. [1903].

CHRIST THE WISDOM OF GOD. A sermon preached in the Chapel of Selwyn College, at the opening service of the Clergy Summer Meeting (July 13, 1903): printed in *The Expository Times* vol. xv (1903) p. 58.

xxv. [1903].

THE TWO GREATEST MIRACLES OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY. A paper read at the Northampton Church Congress: printed in *The Expository Times* vol. xiv (1903) p. 214.

xxvi. [1903].

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST. Six articles in *The Expositor* 6th Series vol. vii pp. 81-94, 259-273, 401-416; vol. viii pp. 116-130, 267-282, 440-455 (Feb., Apr., June, Aug., Oct., Dec. 1903).

xxvii. [1904].

THE NEW OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS. A TENTATIVE INTERPRETATION. A lecture delivered at the Divinity School, Cambridge, on July 7, 1904: printed in *The Expository Times* vol. xv (1904) p. 488.

xxviii. [1905].

Review of *Outlines of the Life of Christ* by W. Sanday, D.D., in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. vi (July 1905) pp. 615-617.

xxix. [1905].

THE VISION OF THE NEW JERUSALEM (Apoc. xxi 9-xxii 5). A paper read to the Central Society of Sacred Study at Weston-super-Mare on January 5, 1905, and at Westcott House, Cambridge, on March 27: printed in *The Interpreter* vol. i pp. 377-387 and 468-478 (May and June 1905).

xxx. [1907].

THE GOSPELS IN THE SECOND CENTURY. A Lecture to the ladies assembled for Biblical study at Newnham College, Cambridge, August 1907: printed in *The Interpreter* vol. iv pp. 138-155 (Jan. 1908).

xxxi. [1907].

PRAYER FOR THE DEPARTED in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. viii (July 1907) pp. 500-514.

xxxii. [1908].

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK. Two Lectures given at the Cambridge Local Lectures Summer Meeting, July 1908: printed in *The Interpreter* vol. v pp. 17-33, 129-146 (Oct. 1908, Jan. 1909).

xxxiii. [1908].

Review of *The Pastoral Teaching of St Paul: His Ministerial Ideals* by W. Edward Chadwick, D.D., B.Sc. (T. and T. Clark, 1907) in *The Expository Times* vol. xix (1908) p. 225.

xxxiv. [1909].

THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE BIBLE in *Essays on some Biblical Questions of the day* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1909) Essay xvi pp. 541-556.

xxxv. [1913].

Review of *The New Testament Documents: their origin and early history* by George Milligan, D.D., in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xv (Oct. 1913) pp. 84-86.

xxxvi. [1916].

THE DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED and JOHN OF EPHESUS in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xvii (July 1916) pp. 371-374 and 375-378.

xxxvii. [1916].

THE FAITHFUL SAYINGS in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xviii (Oct. 1916) pp. 1-7.

xxxviii. [1917].

THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xviii (Jan. and Apr. 1917) pp. 135-141.

xxxix. [1917].

Review of *The Ministry in the Church in relation to Prophecy and Spiritual Gifts* by H. J. Wotherspoon, in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xviii (Jan. and Apr. 1917) pp. 235-237.

xl. [1917].

Review of *Reconciliation between God and Man* by W. J. Sparrow-Simpson, D.D., in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xviii (Jan. and Apr. 1917) pp. 237, 238.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE SAYINGS OF PAUL OF SAMOSATA.

THE earliest writer who deals with the subject of Paul of Samosata and his heresy is Eusebius of Caesarea. But it must be confessed that his treatment of the subject is far from satisfactory to the student of the history of Christian doctrine. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, indeed, he devotes a greater amount of space to Paul than to any other heresiarch.¹ He gives a fairly long, though somewhat confused, account of the proceedings taken against him; and he makes copious extracts from the encyclical Epistle of the 'final' Synod at Antioch, which condemned him. But of his teaching he tells us no more than that he espoused 'low and earthly' (ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμαιπετῇ) opinions about the Christ, esteeming Him to be 'by nature an ordinary man' (ὡς κοινοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου), and that he revived the heresy of Artemon.² From the Epistle he quotes part of the preamble, a lengthy and interesting description of Paul's character and conduct as bishop, which makes no more than passing allusions to his doctrine, and the conclusion; but of that portion of it which set forth his 'perverse heterodoxy' he transcribed not a word. He mentions also two other contemporary documents, a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria directed to the Church of Antioch against Paul, and the Acts of a Disputation between Paul and the presbyter Malchion which preceded his condemnation, both of which were transmitted with the Epistle.³ But from these he culls no extracts.

These *Acta Disputationis* would have been of supreme value, inasmuch as they contained the *ipsissima verba* of the heretic, defining and defending his opinions. They were extant and easily procurable as late as the seventh century.⁴ But that Eusebius had not read them is implied by his words, 'we know that they are still in circulation'.⁵

¹ *H. E.* v 28. 1; vii 27-30. 21; 32. 5, 21.

² This he no doubt took from the Epistle (*H. E.* vii 30. 16 f), where, however, the earlier heretic is called Artemas, as also in the letter of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria (in Theodoret *H. E.* i 4). Later writers follow Eusebius (e.g. Epiph. *Haer.* 65. 1; Hieron. *de Vir.* III. 71; Aug. *Haer.* 44; Theodoret *Haer. Fab.* ii 8).

³ *H. E.* 27. 2; 29. 2; 30. 3, 11.

⁴ Leontius Byzant. c. *Nest. et Eutych.* (*P. G.* lxxxvi 1. 1391).

⁵ *H. E.* vii 29. 2 ἣν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο φερομένην ἴσμεν.

It is not surprising, therefore, that he does not quote them; though this fact is a curious instance of his limitations as a historian. A similar explanation may be given of the failure of Eusebius to quote the letter of Dionysius. It is not mentioned in the lists which he gives of the epistles of that writer, which apparently include all that had come into his hands.¹ But his method of dealing with the Epistle of the Synod cannot be accounted for thus. It must be regarded as an example of his interest in historical episodes, and his comparative indifference to doctrinal discussions. It may be added here that Eusebius betrays no knowledge that Paul of Samosata was a writer of books. Vincentius Lirinensis speaks of *opuscula* attributed to him as extant²; and we shall see that fragments of a tract of Paul against (or addressed to) a certain Sabinus are still preserved.

The purpose of this paper is to bring together as many as possible of the sayings of Paul, and from them to ascertain what can be known of his theological system as he himself stated it. The greater part of the material available for a study of Paul of Samosata will be found in Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae* vol. iii pp. 287-367 (1846). But Routh does not present it in the most convenient form, and he has made no use of the information given by Epiphanius, although he quotes much later writers.

In the following pages, for the sake of brevity, I refer to the Letter of the 'final' Synod of Antioch as the Epistle; and to the Acts of the Disputation between Paul of Samosata and Malchion as the *Acta*. Reported sayings, or parts of sayings, which cannot be regarded as giving the *ipsissima verba* of Paul, are enclosed in round brackets. Square brackets indicate additions to the sayings made by the writers who preserve them.

FRAGMENT I.

συνῆλθεν ὁ λόγος τῷ ἐκ Δαυὶδ γεγεννημένῳ ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἠνεγκεν ἡ παρθένος διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνευ παρθένου, καὶ αὐτὸς τινὸς οὐδενὸς ὄντος πλην τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ οὕτως ὑπέστη ὁ λόγος.

From Justinian, *contra Monophysitas*, in Mai, *Nova Collectio* vii 299.

This, the first of three extracts from Paul of Samosata, has the heading λέγει γοῦν ὁ ἀσεβὴς Παῦλος ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις. Thus it appears that it, and probably the two extracts which follow it, were taken from the *Acta*. In them it probably preceded frag. ii, which includes the second and third of Justinian's extracts; for Justinian seems to follow the order of his source.

¹ *H. E.* vi 44-46; vii 2-9, 20-23, 26. Compare my *Eusebiana*, pp. 154-166.

² *Common.* 25.

FRAGMENT II.

ἄνθρωπος χρίεται· ὁ λόγος οὐ χρίεται. ὁ ναζωραῖος χρίεται· (οὐχ)
ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ λόγος μείζων ἦν τοῦ χριστοῦ. ὁ χριστὸς γὰρ ^a
διὰ σοφίας ^b μέγας ^c ἐγένετο· τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς σοφίας μὴ κατέλωμεν.^d λόγος
μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν· Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐντεῦθεν. Μαρία τὸν λόγον
⁵ οὐκ ἔτεκεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ αἰώνων. ἡ ^e Μαρία τὸν λόγον ὑπέδεξάτο ^f καὶ ^g
οὐκ ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρα τοῦ λόγου Μαρία, ἀλλὰ ^h ἄνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἴσον ἔτεκεν ⁱ
κρείττονα δὲ κατὰ πάντα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ ἐξ ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ
ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χάρις ἵνα ^k μήτε ὁ ἐκ Δαυὶδ χρισθεὶς
ἀλλότριος ἢ τῆς σοφίας, μήτε ἡ σοφία ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως οἰκῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν
¹⁰ τοῖς ^l προφήταις ἦν, μᾶλλον δὲ ^m ἐν Μωσεί καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς κυρίοις ⁿ, μᾶλλον
δὲ ^o ἐν Χριστῷ ὡς ἐν ναφ ^p. (ἔνθεν καὶ δύο φύσεις διηρημένως ἐχούσας καὶ
ἀκoinωνήτους πρὸς ἑαυτὰς εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐν τῷ χριστῷ.) ἄλλος γάρ
ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ λόγος ^q . . . τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλε τοῖς
¹⁵ υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗτός ἐστι
πάντων κύριος [Act. x 36] . . . ὡς τοῦ λόγου διὰ Χριστοῦ λαλήσαντος,
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τάδε λέγει κύριος· ἄλλος μὲν ἦν ὁ προφήτης,
ἄλλος δὲ ὁ κύριος . . . ὁ φαινόμενος οὐκ ἦν σοφία, οὐ γὰρ ἡδύνατο ἐν
σχήματι εὐρίσκεισθαι, οὐδὲ ἐν θέῳ ἀνδρός· μείζων γὰρ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστίν.

^a om. Just. ^b σοφίαν Just. ^c μείζων Just. ^d τὸ ἀξίωμα . . . κατέλωμεν om.
Leont. ^e om. Cont. ^f Routh (p. 327) suggests that οὐχ should be inserted
before ὑπέδεξ. ^g τὸν . . . καὶ om. Leont. ^h om. Cont. ⁱ ἐτ. ἀνθ. ἡμ. Ἰσ. Cont.
^k + δὲ Cont. ^l om. Just. ^m + καὶ Just. ⁿ κύριος Just. ^o + καὶ Just.
^p + θεοῦ Cont. (Mansi). ^q ἄλλος γάρ . . . λόγος paraphrased in Ath., Cont.,
Ephraim Antioch. ap. Phot. cod. 229; Epistle ap. Leont. (frag. viii, below) has
ἄλλο μὲν ἡ σοφία ἄλλο δὲ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

This passage has been reconstructed from a number of short extracts from Paul, quoted by the following writers:—

Leontius of Byzantium *c. Nestorianos et Eutychianos* iii, App., *P. G.* lxxxvi 1. 1393 (cited below as Leontius).

The author¹ of the *Contestatio publice proposita a clericis Constantinopolitanis*, included among the documents of the first Council of Ephesus, Mansi *Concilia* iv 1008, and quoted in full by Leontius, *op. cit.*, *P. G.* lxxxvi 1. 1389 (cited as *Contestatio*).

Justinian *c. Monophysit.*, Mai *Nova Collectio* vii 299 (cited as Justinian).

Theodorus, presbyter of Raithu, *P. G.* xci 1485 (cited as Theodorus).
Athanasiu*s Orationes c. Arianos* iv 30, *P. G.* xxvi 513 (cited as Athanasius).

It is necessary to explain at some length the argument which has led

¹ Eusebius of Dorylaeum, according to Leontius, *l. c.*

me to regard all these extracts as belonging to a single fragment, and to justify the reconstruction of it which is here printed.

The first portion of the reconstructed fragment (*ἄνθρωπος χρίεται . . . ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*), with the exception of a clause which he omits,¹ forms the first of three extracts in Leontius. It is immediately followed by a second extract, consisting of the clause *ἵνα μήτε . . . οἰκῇ*. Now in the *Contestatio* the following series of sayings of Paul is quoted :—

1. *Μαρία τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔτεκεν.*
2. *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ αἰώνων.*
3. *Μαρία τὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρα τοῦ λόγου.*
4. *Μαρία ἔτεκεν ἄνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἴσον.*
5. *κρείττονα δὲ κατὰ πάντα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ ἐξ ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χάρις.*
6. *ἵνα δὲ² μήτε ὁ ἐκ Δαυὶδ χρισθεὶς ἄλλότριος ἢ τῆς σοφίας, μήτε ἡ σοφία ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως οἰκῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἦν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Μωσεί καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς κυρίοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ ὡς ἐν ναφ̄ θεοῦ.³*
7. *καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν⁴ λόγον.*

Each of these, with the exception of the sixth, is followed by a parallel saying of Nestorius. There is no explicit indication that they are all from the same context, or even from the same writing. But the word *ἀλλαχοῦ* prefixed to the seventh implies at least that the first six were taken from a single tract. And that in that tract they were consecutive clauses can scarcely be doubted. For they follow one another naturally, without any break in the construction. Moreover, the first five of them are actually the conclusion of Leontius's first extract, with some variants and an addition at the end which completes a sentence obviously cut short by Leontius; while the sixth includes Leontius's second extract. We may therefore conclude that the first six are a single extract from Paul. Since this extract overlaps the two extracts of Leontius it is evident that our reconstructed fragment from the beginning down to the words *ἐν ναφ̄* is also a single extract.⁵

What then of the seventh saying of the *Contestatio*? The word *ἀλλαχοῦ* may have been intended to mark it as an excerpt from a different work. But, on the other hand, it may mean no more than that in the source it was separated from the sixth by a considerable interval. The following considerations appear to be decisive in favour

¹ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς σοφίας μὴ κατέλωμεν. See below, p. 25.

² om. Mansi.

³ om. Leont.

⁴ + θεοῦ Leont.

⁵ It will be noted that on this hypothesis Leontius's second extract follows the first almost immediately. Between them there are only the words *καὶ ἐξ ἐπαγγελιῶν . . . χάρις*.

of the second of these two possible interpretations. Justinian has three quotations from Paul of Samosata, derived, it would seem, from the *Acta*.¹ The first of them is our frag. i. The second will be discussed later on. The third quotation includes two sentences. The first is part of the sixth saying in the *Contestatio*, καὶ γὰρ ἐν . . . ναῶ; the second runs ἄλλος γάρ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ λόγος. The latter is the seventh saying of the *Contestatio*, expressed in the *oratio recta*, and therefore probably in its original form. From Justinian the inference might have been plausibly drawn that the two sentences were consecutive in the document from which he took them. The word ἀλλαχού in the *Contestatio* negatives that conclusion; but we can safely affirm nevertheless that they were derived from the same source, in which the second occurred at some distance after the first. Justinian, in fact, after the manner of other authors, ancient² and modern, here leaves uncopied a portion of the passage which lay before him—the very same portion which the writer of the *Contestatio*, using the same document, also omitted. Can we bridge the chasm?

Let us turn to Theodorus. He speaks as follows:—

Παῦλος . . . ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν κύριον ἐδυσφήμησεν ὥσπερ δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν προφητῶν οὕτω καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν οἰκισιν· ἔνθεν καὶ δύο φύσεις διηρημένως ἐχούσας καὶ ἀκοινωνήτους πρὸς ἑαυτὰς εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄλλου ὄντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἄλλου τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντος θεοῦ λόγου.

This statement of Paul's doctrine is clearly in part based on sayings which we know. The first phrase recalls the assertion that Mary 'brought forth a man equal unto us'; the succeeding clause has an evident connexion with the sentences which say that the wisdom was in the prophets and in Christ; and the closing words are not less obviously a paraphrase of ἄλλος γάρ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ λόγος. And it has been shewn that the three sayings of Paul, to which I have referred, followed one another in the document underlying Leontius, the *Contestatio*, and Justinian, and in the same order as the corresponding clauses in Theodorus. It is a reasonable inference that Theodorus's ἐνθεν καὶ δύο φύσεις κτλ. had a similar relation to the passage which, as we have seen, lay between the second and third in the same document. That this clause may be a fairly accurate paraphrase of words used by Paul is shewn by its parallelism to another *dictum* of his (frag. vi 3); and it serves as a suitable link between the two sentences which, following Theodorus, we suppose that it connected. Moreover, that some such statement was made by Paul in the debate

¹ See under frag. i.

² See my *Eusebiana*, p. 96 f.

which preceded his condemnation is proved by a saying of Malchion reported by Leontius from the *Acta*¹:—

οὔτε δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προηγουμένως παθῶν ἀμέτοχος ἦν ὁ φορέσας καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον θεός· οὔτε τῶν θείων προηγουμένως ἔργων ἄμοιρον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐν ᾧ ἦν, καὶ δι' οὗ ταῦτα ἐποίει· ἐπλάσθη προηγουμένως ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν γαστρὶ· καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον θεὸς ἦν ἐν γαστρὶ συννοσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ.

This definition is evidently aimed at a statement that the two 'natures' in Christ were διηρημένα καὶ ἀκοινώνητοι. It is, of course, open to question whether the words of Theodorus faithfully reproduce those of Paul; in particular whether he would have applied the term φύσις to the Logos in Christ, as he certainly applies it to the man in whom the Logos resided (frag. xii). But in our reconstruction we place them, without hesitation, before the clause ἄλλος γὰρ ἐστὶν κτλ., as representing in substance the sentence which led up to it.

We are now in a position to deal with the second quotation of Justinian. It runs thus:—

ὁ λόγος μείζων ἦν τοῦ χριστοῦ. Χριστὸς διὰ σοφίαν μείζων ἐγένετο· τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς σοφίας μὴ καθέλωμεν.

The first two of these three clauses we have already found in Leontius. We have therefore been able to assign them their proper place in the reconstructed fragment (l. 2 f). In the third clause we are introduced to a saying of Paul not hitherto met with. That its source is the *Acta* we are assured, not only by Justinian but by a statement of the Epistle, reported by Leontius,² φησὶ τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν³ . . . τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς σοφίας. What was its position therein? From Justinian we learn that it followed, though perhaps not immediately,⁴ the words Χριστὸς γὰρ διὰ σοφίας μέγας ἐγένετο (l. 2), and that it preceded the beginning of his third quotation ἵνα μήτε ὁ ἐκ Δαβὶδ (l. 8). Again, it is unlikely that it belongs to that portion of our restored fragment which is common to Leontius and the *Contestatio*, for in that case it must have been omitted by two writers copying independently. Thus it preceded Μαρία τὸν λόγον οὐκ (l. 5). So we must put it either immediately before or immediately after λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐντεύθεν (l. 3 f). In the former of these possible positions I have printed it, as the one in which it suits the context better. Leontius omitted it designedly or by accident, just as he omitted ἡ Μαρία τὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξατο in l. 5 f.

¹ P. G. lxxvi i. 1393. ² *Ibid.* ³ The *Acta*. See Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 11.

⁴ Justinian may have omitted one or more clauses in his second quotation, as he did in the third.

For justification of the portion of the reconstructed fragment which immediately follows ἄλλος γάρ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ λόγος we appeal to Athanasius. He writes :—

τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, διαιροῦντες τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, φάσκουσι τὸν μὲν υἱὸν εἶναι τὸν χριστόν, τὸν δὲ λόγον ἄλλον εἶναι.

This saying of the Paulianists is simply the dictum of Paul just quoted, with the substitution of υἱός for ἄλλος. But Athanasius proceeds :—

καὶ τοῦτου πρόφασιν λαμβάνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Πράξεων, ὃ καλῶς μὲν ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐκδέχονται. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο· τὸν λόγον κτλ. (Acts x 36). φασὶ γὰρ ὡς τοῦ λόγου διὰ Χριστοῦ λαλήσαντος, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τάδε λέγει κύριος· ἄλλος μὲν ἦν ὁ προφήτης, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ κύριος.

It may be supposed that, since the Paulianists began by quoting in a modified form a dictum of their master, they quoted also the argument by which he supported it. And the use of Scripture to establish his doctrine is in Paul's manner. Vincentius Lirinensis (*Com.* 25), who knew his writings, tells us that it was his habit; and it is certain that for a similar purpose he referred to such passages as Deut. vi 4¹; Joh. v 27²; xiv 10, 12 (?)³; Phil. ii 7-9⁴; Rom. ix 5 (?)⁵, and probably many more.⁶

This conclusion becomes more probable when we observe two facts. The first is that the text quoted does not confirm the Paulianist view that Christ is Son; for the word υἱός does not occur in it. What it does shew, granting the soundness of the exegesis, is that Jesus Christ is different from the Logos, which is Paul's own statement, not that of his followers. Again, the argument of the Paulianists ends with the words ἄλλος μὲν ἦν ὁ προφήτης, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ κύριος. This is obviously intended to be a parallel to the saying with which it began. But in fact it is parallel to Paul's statement, not to their modification of it. We are almost forced to believe that the argument, as a whole, was not theirs but his.

It may be asked, indeed, if Athanasius was really quoting Paul's argument, why did he attribute it to certain of his followers in the fourth century? The answer is twofold. In the first place, at the moment Athanasius was engaged in refuting the theory which identified the Son with the Christ, but refused to identify Him with the Logos. This was the teaching of some Paulianists, as we learn from him, but apparently not of Paul himself.⁷ And secondly, Athanasius had little direct knowledge of Paul. He had not read the Epistle, and he

¹ Frag. ix 1.

² Cramer *Catena* ii 235.

³ Frag. ix 1, 3.

⁴ Frags. ii l. 17 f; vi 2; xiii.

⁵ Frag. ix 4

⁶ Frags. ix 1; x 3 (see notes).

⁷ See notes on frag. viii.

probably knew of the *Acta* only a few excerpts.¹ In regard of matters about which they did not supply information he could only testify to the beliefs and practices of contemporary Paulianists.² In such cases we cannot assume an implication on his part that they differed from the founder of the sect. In the instance before us he was possibly ignorant of the ultimate source of the argument which he criticized.

Leontius gives three extracts from Paul, the first two of which have been discussed above. The third is the concluding portion of the reconstructed fragment—ὁ φαινόμενος κτλ. (l. 17 f). We have seen that the second was separated by no more than a few words (καὶ ἐξ ἐπαγγελιῶν . . . χάρις, l. 7 f) from the first. It may be expected, therefore, that the third was a somewhat later sentence in the same context. It is for that reason that I regard it as part of our fragment. Its closing words connect it with καὶ γὰρ λόγος μείζων ἦν τοῦ χριστοῦ (l. 2). It will be noticed that it refers to Phil. ii 7.

Assuming then that the unity of our fragment has been established, we must enquire, where did it come from? The answer is not doubtful. It is a portion of the *Acta*. Evidence has been given incidentally that several parts of it are derived from that source. One or two facts which point to the same conclusion may be added here. The second extract of Leontius is headed ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Μαλχίωνα διαλόγου. And a fragment of the Epistle, preserved by the same writer, tells of a saying of Paul (uttered no doubt in the disputation), that wisdom dwelt in Christ as in no other³—evidently referring to our fragment, ll. 9–11, μήτε ἡ σοφία κτλ. In the portions of the Epistle transcribed by Eusebius there is another allusion to words of Paul in the disputation—Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κάτωθεν⁴—which might seem to be satisfied by Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐντεῦθεν (l. 4, cp. the use of ἐντεῦθεν in Joh. xviii 26). If so, we have a further indication of the source of the fragment. But the reference is more probably to frag. x 3, where Paul speaks of ὁ ἄνθρωπος κάτωθεν. In the present passage ἐντεῦθεν is perhaps equivalent to ἐκ παρθένου, or ἐκ Ναζαρέτ, as in Athan. *c. Apoll.* ii 3, quoted under frag. ix 4. It may point back to frag. i, or a sentence which followed it.

It may be well to point out that in the reconstructed fragment Paul uses λόγος and σοφία as almost convertible terms. If there is any difference between them it may be that σοφία is applied rather to the Logos in Christ or the Prophets, λόγος to the Logos in God.

¹ See notes on frag. vii.

² e.g. *Orat.* ii 43.

³ καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρα, ἡ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σοφίαν λέγειν ὡς ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ. *P. G.* lxxvi 1. 1393. See under frag. v. Theodoret *Haer. Fab.* li 8 (*P. G.* lxxiii 393) refers to ll. 6–11 of this fragment, apparently as part of the *Acta*: ἐφωράθη τὸν χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγων, θείας χάριτος διαφερόντως ἡγιωμένον.

⁴ *Eus. H. E.* vii 30. 11.

FRAGMENT III.

εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ γένεσιν συνῆπτο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο (συμβαίνειν).

This is the second of a series of extracts from the Epistle preserved by Leontius (*P. G.* lxxxvi 1. 1393). The first has been quoted above (p. 25 : φησὶ τοῖνυν κτλ.). The two are perhaps to be read continuously, the words καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα, which precede the second, being taken, not as a note of Leontius, but as copied by him from the Epistle. If so, it followed frag. ii l. 3 (καθέλωμεν) in the *Acta*, after an interval. It depends on φησὶ in the previous extract, and from it σοφία is to be supplied as the subject of συνῆπτο. The first part seems to be a quotation of words used by an orthodox speaker, to which Paul replies, for both σύστασις and συνάπτομαι, in such a connexion, are apparently orthodox words.¹ We may paraphrase, 'If, as you say, Wisdom was united to Christ in the womb, this is consistent with the view that it was united to a human person.'

FRAGMENT IV.

(οὐ γὰρ συγγεγενῆσθαι τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τὴν σοφίαν² οὐσιωδῶς ἀλλὰ κατὰ ποιότητα.)

The third extract from the Epistle of the same series. Like frag. iii it depends on a previous φησὶ. The words καὶ πάλιν, which introduce it, indicate that it came from a different (probably, but not necessarily, later) part either of the Letter or of the *Acta*, according as we ascribe them to Leontius or to the Epistle itself.

FRAGMENT V.

(ἐτεροίαν τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας.)

From Leontius's fourth extract from the Epistle; which it may be well to quote in its entirety, with part of the fifth :—

τί δὲ βούλεται, καὶ τὸ ἐτεροίαν φύσκειν τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας; ἡμῶν ἐνὶ³ μεγίστῳ δὴ⁴ τούτῳ διαφέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ἀξιούντων τῷ⁵ τὸν θεὸν λόγον ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι, ὅπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ἔσω ἀνθρώπος; καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα, ἥ⁶ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σοφίαν λέγειν ὡς ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ; τοῦτο γὰρ τὸν μὲν τρόπον τῆς ἐνοικήσεως τὸν αὐτὸν δηλοῦν μέτρῳ δὲ καὶ πλῆθει ὑπερφέρει,⁷ ὅσον διπλάσιον ἢ καὶ ὀπωσδήποτε πλείον ἢ ἔλασσον τοῦ διπλασίου γινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι.

¹ For the first see under frags. v, vi, and for the second frags. xiii, xv.

² The Epistle inserts here ὡς ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν.

³ ἐν (om. ἡμῶν) Routh, p. 311, from Bodleian MS.

⁴ δὲ Routh.

⁵ So Routh, τὸ Migne. ⁶ So Routh, εἰ Migne. ⁷ ὑπερφέρειν Routh.

Here the Epistle as usual quotes from the *Acta*. But the phrase καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρα is obviously an insertion of Leontius, indicating that he has omitted a portion of the Epistle. Hence, though the second saying of Paul here reported (a free quotation of frag. ii ll. 9-11) followed the first in the letter, we cannot form any opinion as to their relative positions in the *Acta*. The general sense of the passage from which both extracts come seems to be, Of what avail is it that Paul insists so strongly on the difference between the κατασκευή of Christ and that of other men, seeing that we go so far beyond him, maintaining that the divine Word is part of His being? Why does he talk of the uniqueness of the indwelling of the Wisdom in Him, while he makes the difference between Him and others in this respect merely quantitative, not qualitative? Paul had spoken of what he here calls the ἑτεροία κατασκευή in frags. i, ii. It is worthy of note that the Synod substitutes σύντασις for his κατασκευή. Cp. frag. iii.

FRAGMENT VI.

1. Ex simplicibus fit¹ compositum.

2. (quia) sapientia dispendium (patiatur) et ideo composita esse non (possit).

3. (quod) sapientia (habitaret) in eo sicut habitamus et nos in domibus ut alter in altero sed neque pars domus nos sumus nec nostri pars domus est.

These sayings of Paul are extracted from a fragment of Malchion preserved by Petrus Diaconus, *de Incarnatione et Gratia Christi* iii (*P. L.* lxii 85), who prefaces it with the words, '(Malchion presbyterus) summum disputationis certamen a concilio memorato suscipiens ita eundem haereticum inter caetera redarguit, dicens.' Its source is therefore the *Acta*: but it must be borne in mind that Peter does not give us the *ipsissima verba* of Paul; we have the sayings only as Malchion quoted or summarized them. The first of them is not expressly ascribed to Paul, but the word *certe*, which is inserted after *fit*, seems to imply that it is a postulate of his which his adversary accepts.

The comment of Malchion is instructive. After quoting the first saying, he proceeds: 'Sicut in Christo Iesu qui ex Deo uerbo et humano corpore, quod est ex semine Daud, unus factus est, nequaquam ulterius diuisione aliqua sed unitate subsistens. Tu uero uideris mihi secundum hoc nolle compositionem fateri, ut non substantia sit in eo filius Dei sed sapientia secundum participationem. Hoc enim dixisti', &c. Here the words 'nequaquam', &c. seem to refer to frag. ii ll. 11-14. To the second sentence the following, quoted by Leontius

¹ Petrus Diac. inserts *certe* after *fit*.

(l. c.)—his seventh extract from the Letter of the Synod—is so closely parallel that we might almost regard the Latin as a translation of it: τὴν δὲ συνάφειαν ἑτέρως πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν νοεῖ κατὰ μάθησιν καὶ μετουσίαν, οὐχὶ οὐσίαν οὐσιωμένην ἐν σώματι. Ἐτέρως is no doubt equivalent to a phrase which Peter might have rendered 'non secundum compositionem'. The Greek would have been οὐ κατὰ σύστασιν (cp. frags. iii, v). The words *compositum* and *composita* in the sayings are probably renderings of cognates of σύστασις. Μετουσίαν is rendered *participationem*; perhaps wrongly, for it is patient of a translation which brings it into closer connexion with μάθησις, here coupled with it, and with the κατὰ ποιότητα of frag. iv, to which the sentence appears to refer. Οὐχὶ οὐσίαν οὐσιωμένην is evidently represented by 'non substantia sit'. The words ἐν σώματι have their parallel not in the 'in eo' of the corresponding Latin, but in the 'humano corpore' of the previous sentence. The resemblance between this Latin version of Malchion's speech and the Greek of the Letter gives support to the statement of St Jerome¹ that the latter was written by Malchion himself. With this saying of Malchion we may compare another, in which he seems to refer to it (Leontius, l. c.): οὐ πάλαι τοῦτο ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐ διδῶς οὐσιῶσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ σωτῆρι τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως αἰδώς ὑπάρχοντα;

From Malchion's comment on the second saying of Paul we learn that at this point the debate turned on the interpretation of Phil. ii 7: cp. frags. ii l. 17 f; xiii. It runs: 'Nec cogitas quod diuina sapientia, sicut antequam se exinanisset, indiminuta permansit; ita et in hac exinanitione . . . indiminuta atque indemutabilis exstitit.' Thus we can understand Paul's statement that the Wisdom 'suffered loss': it is his interpretation of ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν.

FRAGMENT VII.

1. εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου² γέγονεν ὁ χριστὸς θεός, οὐκοῦν ὁμοούσιός ἐστι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀνάγκη τρεῖς οὐσίας εἶναι, μίαν μὲν προηγουμένην, τὰς δὲ δύο ἐξ ἐκείνης.

2. ('Per hanc unius essentiae nuncupationem solitarium atque unicum sibi Patrem et Filium praedicabat.')

The former of these two sayings is given by Athanasius *de Synodis* 45 (*P.G.* xxvi 772), the latter by Hilary of Poitiers *de Synodis* 81 (*P.L.* x 534).

Athanasius had not read the Epistle of the Synod of Antioch³; it was from certain brethren who disliked the word ὁμοούσιον that he learned that it had been condemned therein.⁴ But he quotes the

¹ *De Vir.* III. 71.

² Lower down Athanasius, in a second reference to this clause, has ἀνθρώπων.

³ *De Syn.* 43 τὴν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔσχον ἐγώ.

⁴ *Ibid.* εἰρηκασί μὴ εἶναι ὁμοούσιον τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ. Similarly in c. 45, where τὸν χριστὸν takes the place of τὸν υἱόν. Dr Strong has argued that the rejection of

argument of Paul, apparently *verbatim*, and with no expression of doubt. We may conclude that he states it in the form in which it appears in the *Acta*, a copy of at least some portions of which was no doubt in his hands. In the context he gives us to understand that the Fathers of the Synod failed to perceive the fallacy of the reasoning, and that being unable to accept the conclusion, they resorted to the expedient of denying one of the premisses on which it rested, the homoousian formula. This statement of Athanasius may have been based on mere conjecture, or it may have been stated by those on whom he relied for information about the Epistle.

Hilary seems to have depended for his knowledge of what the Fathers of Antioch had written on the letter of the Gaulish bishops which he was criticizing. He says: 'Id addidistis quod patres nostri, cum Paulus Samosatenus haereticus pronuntiatus est, etiam homoousion repudiaverint: quia per hanc' &c. This amounts to a statement that in the Epistle the word *ὁμοούσιον* was rejected, and that a specific reason for its rejection was given. There is no direct allusion to the *Acta*, though of course the argument which Paul used must have appeared in them.

There is no *a priori* reason to suppose that the information given us by either of these two writers as to the proceedings of the Synod is erroneous, though it might be expected that it would be fragmentary. They are in fact supported by a third witness, who adds to our knowledge. St. Basil assures us that the word *ὁμοούσιον* was condemned in the Epistle; and he further tells us that in the same document a reason for its rejection was set forth, which is very similar to the argument of Paul reported by Athanasius. Here are his words (*Ep.* 52, *P. G.* xxxii 393): καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι οἱ ἐπὶ Παύλῳ τῷ Σαμοσατέϊ συνελθόντες διέβαλον τὴν λέξιν [ὁμοούσιον] ὡς οὐκ εὐχον. ἔφασαν γὰρ ἐκείνοι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνὴν παριστᾶν ἔννοιαν οὐσίας τε καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὥστε καταμερισθεῖσαν τὴν οὐσίαν παρέχειν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς εἰς ἃ διηρέθη.

Now let us return to Hilary. He also knew the argument attributed to Paul by Athanasius and stated by Basil to have been used in the Antiochene Epistle. But he puts it into the mouth of the semi-Arian bishops: 'Idcirco respuendum (homoousion) pronuntiastis quia per verbi huius enuntiationem substantia prior intelligeretur quam duo inter

ὁμοούσιον at Antioch is not proved (*Journal of Theol. Studies* iii 292), laying stress on the indirectness of the testimony of Athanasius and Hilary. This scarcely affects our argument. But it may be noted that he does not refer to the evidence of Basil, and that he makes use of a singularly hazardous argument *e silentio*—'the absence of any such condemnation in the extant documents of the Council'. The argument from the absence of any correction of the statement of Athanasius and Hilary by other writers is more impressive.

se partiti essent.' The words of Athanasius and Basil suggest that this came ultimately from the documents of the Synod of Antioch. And it is quite probable that if the semi-Arians borrowed one argument from the Council, as they professed to have done, they should have borrowed another also. Against this conclusion, of course, no argument can be based on the silence of Hilary. In the form in which the argument is expressed Hilary approaches nearer to Basil than to Athanasius. That is as it should be; for the Gaulish bishops and Basil, as we have seen, quote the Epistle, while Athanasius quotes the *Acta*.

Thus the evidence, so far as it has been investigated, points to the conclusion that Paul based two arguments on the word *ὁμοούσιον*, both of which were incorporated in the Epistle, as reasons for rejecting that term. But it has been held that this conclusion cannot be maintained. The testimony of Hilary and the testimony of Athanasius, it is said, are inconsistent with each other. We must therefore make our choice between them. Hilary declares that Paul accepted the term, Athanasius that he rejected it.¹

I cannot see that Athanasius states, or implies, anything of the kind. I take it that the saying which he attributes to Paul may be paraphrased thus: 'On your theory (cp. frag. iii), not only the Word but the Christ—the composite Being made up of the hypostatic Word and body (see frag. vi)—is co-essential with the Father²: this implies an essence prior to the Father and the Christ, of which both partake.' So interpreted the reasoning is of the nature of an *argumentum ad hominem*: it is an attempt to reduce the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation to an absurdity. The term *ὁμοούσιον* is not objected against but assumed.³

We may perhaps believe that the word was at first accepted by both parties. On the one hand Paul would have no difficulty in affirming that the Logos was *ὁμοούσιος τῷ θεῷ (πατρί)*. The opponents of Paul, like Dionysius of Alexandria, may have admitted the orthodoxy of the statement that Christ was *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί*, while forbearing to insist upon it. But as the controversy proceeded it would seem that the heresiarch propounded a double argument. On the one hand he contended that the term was fatal to the Christology of his adversaries; on the other he claimed that it was consistent with, or implied, his own view, which recognized but one Person in the Godhead, and

¹ So Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism*, 2nd ed. (1900), p. 47.

² This is the formula which Dionysius of Rome accused his namesake of Alexandria of rejecting: *ὡς οὐ λέγοντος τὸν χριστὸν (not υἱόν or λόγον) ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ θεῷ* (C. L. Feltoe *Dionysius of Alexandria* p. 188).

³ In reply to Paul's argument Athanasius is content to say, *μη οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ θεοῦ, τὸ ὁμοούσιον σημαίνεισθαι*. But the Christ incarnate was not *ἀσώματος*.

distinguished between the divine Logos and the human Christ. Malchion and his adherents accepted the reasoning in both cases, and on both grounds abandoned the formula. In this they may have received countenance from Dionysius of Alexandria, whose letter to the Church of Antioch they treated with such respect.¹ If, as is likely, he dwelt in it on the Monarchianist tendencies of Paul, it is equally likely that, as in earlier epistles on a similar subject, he did not employ the term *ὁμοούσιον*.²

If the word had not at the beginning been accepted by Paul's opponents, it is difficult to see how either of the arguments attributed to him could have had real force; if it had been in common use among them Malchion would surely have been able to vindicate its orthodoxy. On the other hand, if the word was used by the orthodox, and not by Paul, why should they repudiate it? They might simply have disused it. The case was different if he not only derided its use by the orthodox, but himself used it to support his own heresy. It may be added that the employment of such a term as this—traditionally orthodox, but seldom heard—was perhaps one of the means by which Paul contrived to veil his heterodoxy in the earlier stages of the controversy.³

It must further be remarked that Hilary, Athanasius, and Basil are not the only witnesses whose testimony on this matter is available. Epiphanius, as I hope to shew later on, is largely indebted for his account of the Samosatene heresy to the *Acta*. Now he writes,⁴ *μία θεότης ἡ τριάς, πατὴρ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ὁμοούσιος οὐσα. ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃς ὁμοούσιον οὐ συναλοιφὴν σημαίνει. τὸ γὰρ ὁμοούσιον οὐχ ἐνὸς ἐστὶ σωματικόν.* And again, *οὔτε πάλιν λέγομεν αὐτὸν μὴ εἶναι ταῦτὸν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῷ πατρί.* Here we have the word *ὁμοούσιον*, and a repudiation at once of a Monarchianist inference from it, and of the charge that those who used it denied the identity in essence of Father and Son. The inference according to Hilary, and the charge according to Athanasius, came from Paul. If the words of Epiphanius are derived from Malchion, as is much in the context, they lead us to three conclusions: first, that the statements of both Athanasius and Hilary are in harmony with the facts; secondly, that the party of Malchion, at least at the beginning of the discussion, accepted the word *ὁμοούσιον*; and thirdly, that for a time they resisted Paul's deductions from it.

The opening words of the first saying imply Paul's belief that from being man Christ came to be God. This sufficiently explains the words

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii 27; 30. 3.

² Feltoe, p. 171.

³ Eus. *H. E.* vii 28. 2.

⁴ *Haer.* 65. 8 (Dindorf iii 13).

⁵ This word should be noted. It seems to indicate that Epiphanius was quoting a speech addressed to an individual opponent.

of the Macrostich¹: οὔτε . . . ἀρνούμεθα καὶ τὸν χριστὸν θεὸν εἶναι πρὸ αἰώνων ὅποιοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως, ὕστερον αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἐκ προκοπῆς τεθεοποιῆσθαι λέγοντες, τῷ τὴν φύσιν ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, and the words of the Epistle reported by Gregory of Nyssa,² ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀποτεθεῶσθαι τὸν κύριον. Athanasius may refer to this 'deification' of the Christ when he says that Paul confessed 'God born of a virgin'. His words are given in the note on frag. ix 4. For Paul's fuller exposition of the doctrine see frags. xi, xiii, xv. It is evident that he did not acknowledge the divinity of Christ in any sense which would permit worship to be rendered to Him.³

FRAGMENT VIII.

(μὴ δύο ὑφίστασθαι υἱούς.)

From Leontius (*P. G.* lxxxvi i. 1393).

This saying stands at the head of Leontius's sixth extract from the Epistle, and it is introduced by the word *φησί*, indicating that it was taken from the *Acta*. Doubtless it was a repudiation of teaching imputed to Paul by Malchion. The Epistle confutes the heretic out of his own mouth: εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, υἱὸς δὲ καὶ σοφία, καὶ ἄλλο μὲν ἢ σοφία ἄλλο δὲ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δύο ὑφίστανται υἱοί. This reply has the appearance of quoting three sayings of Paul, and ἄλλο μὲν κτλ. actually represents frag. ii l. 12 f. But it is doubtful whether the preceding clauses reproduce explicit statements. Υἱὸς καὶ σοφία is sufficiently justified as a summary of Paul's teaching by the latter part of frag. i, though the word *υἱός* does not occur there; and by the fact that he perhaps occasionally uses *υἱός* as a synonym of *λόγος* (frag. ix 1; x 3), though in general he seems to avoid the word. On the other hand, in his extant sayings there is no implication that Jesus Christ is the Son of God: indeed the early part of frag. i and frag. x 3 seem to indicate the contrary. But we know that while the Paulianists of a later generation, as a body, used the 'three Names' in baptism,⁴ which surely involves belief in the sonship of the Logos, yet some of the sect, at the same period, gave the title of son to Christ, but denied it to the eternal Word.⁵ This divergence points to some indecision or inconsistency in the language of the founder. Malchion may have laid hold of some ill-considered utterances, let fall in the course of debate, in order to fasten on him the charge of self-contradiction. All that can be

¹ See Athan. *de Syn.* 26.

² *Antirrheticus adv. Apollinarium* (*P. G.* xlv 1139).

³ See Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 10.

⁴ Athan. *Orat.* ii 43 Μανιχαῖοι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ οἱ τοῦ Σαμοσατέως μαθηταί, τὰ δυνάμια λέγοντες, οὐδὲν ἡττόν εἰσιν αἰρετικοί.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv 30, quoted above under frag. ii p. 26.

affirmed is that Paul must have said something in which an adversary might have detected an admission of the sonship of Christ, as he certainly did, in effect, acknowledge the sonship of the Word.

FRAGMENT IX.

1. (Θεὸν [πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα] ἓνα θεόν, ἐν θεῷ δὲ αἰεὶ ὄντα τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον [καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ] ὥσπερ ἐν ἀνθρώπου καρδίᾳ ὁ ἴδιος λόγος. μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνυπόστατον, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ. ἐλθόντα δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἐνουκῆσαντα ἐν Ἰησοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι). καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἔστιν ὁ θεός. . . . ἀπὸ τῶν μαρτυρίων τούτων . . . κύριος ὁ θεός σου, κύριος εἰς ἔστιν [Deut. vi 4] . . . εἶπεν ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί [Joh. xiv 10 f] . . . ἐλθὼν ὁ λόγος ἐνήργησε μόνος καὶ ἀνῆλθε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

2. (αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα ἓνα θεόν.)

3. (μετὰ τὸ γεγενῆσθαι ὀφθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον καὶ πάλιν ἐν θεῷ ὑπάρχοντα ἄνω, ὡς ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀνθρώπου λόγος.)

From Epiphanius *Haer.* 65, 1, 2, 3, 8 (Dindorf, iii 5, 6, 15).

4. (λόγον ἐνεργὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σοφίαν ἐν αὐτῷ, τῷ μὲν προορισμῷ πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα τῇ δὲ ὑπάρξει ἐκ Ναζαρετ ἀναδειχθέντα) ἵνα εἰς εἴῃ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντα θίως ὁ πατήρ.

From Athanasius *c. Apollinar.* ii 3 (*P.G.* xxvi 1136).

The first of these extracts is attributed by Epiphanius to Paul himself. But the clauses enclosed in square brackets are probably glosses; for the formula in which they occur is repeated many times in the context with variants, but nowhere else does it contain a reference to the Holy Spirit; and from extracts 2, 4 it appears that, according to Paul, the One God was the Father. In the second sentence, *μὴ εἶναι κτλ.*, it is not unlikely that *υἱὸν* has been substituted for *λόγον* by Epiphanius. That Epiphanius had a document before him when he wrote, and that in the latter part of the extract he gives the *ipsissima verba* of Paul, as reported in it, is highly probable. The words 'from these testimonies' lead us to expect several texts; but in § 1 only one 'testimony' is quoted (Deut. iv 6). That Paul cited Joh. xiv 10 f in this connexion is inferred from § 2, in which his interpretation of that passage is challenged. The words *ἐλθὼν κτλ.*, which conclude the extract from Paul, are in § 1. Thus Epiphanius seems here to have transcribed Paul's argument, omitting part of it. That the document which lay before him was the *Acta* we may gather from *ἐλθόντα κτλ.*, which is a condensation of frag. ii ll. 3-11. The next section, which criticizes Paul's exegesis of Joh. xiv 10 f., is probably based on Malchion's *refutation* of it, recorded in the *Acta*. The words *ἐνήργησε μόνος* in the last clause are of doubtful meaning. They may be interpreted as meaning that the Logos in Christ acted either independently of the Father's personality (cp. frag. ii l. 11 f) or apart from God. In view of frag. ii 4

of this fragment (see below) the latter explanation seems more probable. But possibly *μόνος* includes both significations—apart from Christ and apart from God. The words *καὶ ἀνῆλθε κτλ.* are obviously based on Joh. xiv 12, 28; xvi 17, 28; xvii 11, 13. They are further developed in extract 3.

The second extract, like the first, purports to represent a statement of Paul. It is said, in the context, to involve the absurdity of a *πατὴρ ἄγονος υἱοῦ*.

The third extract comes from a passage in which Epiphanius speaks not of Paul but of the 'Samosatites'. Nevertheless, it appears to represent in substance an utterance of his. In fact it reproduces, in different language, and with an addition, the conclusion of extract 1. Moreover the irregularity of the construction points to the quotation and criticism of detached sentences of a single writer or speaker. The immediately preceding words are *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ οὐχ ὡς λόγος ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ πατέρα οἶδαμεν νοητὸν σὺν υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸν ἀπὸ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον. καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἔλθων εἰς οἰκητήριον ὁ θεῖος λόγος· καὶ μετὰ κτλ.* Here allusion is obviously made to extract 1 (*ὡς λόγος ἐν καρδίᾳ*) and to frag. vi 3 (*εἰς οἰκητήριον*), the reference to extract 1 being continued in *καὶ πάλιν κτλ.* It would seem that Epiphanius is giving us further scraps of Malchion's remarks on Joh. xiv 10 f. At any rate the extract adds to our knowledge of what Paul actually said. For it implies a declaration by him that after its entry into the man Jesus it was 'seen' in him; that while it dwelt in him it was no longer in God as reason in the heart of a man, but had for the time, in some sense, a separate existence; and that finally it returned to its former state.

The fourth extract is part of a passage in which Athanasius states that Paul of Samosata, like other heretics, confessed that 'God was born' in Nazareth'. It presents some difficulties; but it has manifest points of contact with extracts 1-3, which warrant the belief that it is based on the document which underlies them: Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεύς, he writes, *θεὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου ὁμολογεῖ, θεὸν ἐκ Ναζαρετ ὀφθέντα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότα, καὶ ἀρχὴν βασιλείας παρεληφότα.*¹ Then he proceeds, as in extract 4, *λόγον δὲ ἐνεργόν κτλ.*, explaining, apparently, the sense in which Paul made the admission. Note the words *ὀφθέντα* (see extract 3), *ἐνεργόν* (cp. *ἐνήργησε*, extract 1), *ὑπάρξεως*, *ὑπάρξει* (cp. *ὑπάρχοντα*, extract 3), *πατὴρ* (cp. extract 2); also the allusion to Deut. iv 6 (as in extract 1). If Athanasius is right, Paul actually dated the proper existence of the Logos from the 'Incarnation', from its entry into Jesus. No doubt the Logos was in being before the ages, but only *τῷ προορισμῷ*, not *τῇ ὑπάρξει*. The Logos was essentially

¹ *γεγενῆσθαι*.

² For this statement see under frag. vii p. 34.

λόγος ἐνεργός, existing therefore in the true sense only when active. For the λόγος ἐνεργός compare Marius Mercator, *Nest. Blasph. Cap.* App. 19 (*P. L.* xlvi 929) 'Paulus uerbum dei προφορικὸν καὶ πρακτικὸν λόγον καὶ ἐνεργητικόν, id est, prolatium et potestatis effectuum uerbum sensit, non substantium, quod Graeci οὐσιώδες dicunt'. It may be added that Athanasius seems to imply that Paul used Rom. ix 5, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, as one of the 'testimonies' to his view of the unity of God.

In confirmation of the inference here drawn from extracts 1, 3, 4, the summary of *Haer.* 65, given by Epiphanius in his *Anacephalaeosis* (Dindorf i 250; iii 3), may be quoted. It puts in brief what he conceived, after a study of the documents, to be the main points of Paul's teaching: οὗτος ἀνύπαρκτον τὸν Χριστὸν ὀλίγον δεῖν διαβεβαιοῦνται (cp. extract 1), λόγον προφορικὸν αὐτὸν σχηματίσας (cp. frag. x 2), ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας καὶ δεῦρο εἶναι προαγγελτικῶς μὲν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς εἰρημένα ἔχοντος (cp. frag. ii l. 7 f), μὴ ὄντος δέ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Μαρίας καὶ δεῦρο διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας. Cp. Eus. *H. E.* vi 33 (cp. 20). Compare also Athanasius *De Syn.* 45 (*P. G.* xxvi 773) ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς ἐφρόνει μὴ εἶναι πρὸ Μαρίας τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι.

FRAGMENT X.

1. (πρόσωπον ἐν τὸν θεὸν ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον.)

2. τὸ ὄν εἶναι (τοῦ λόγου) κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν ἐστὶ.

3. ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέπνευσεν ἄνωθεν ὁ λόγος. καὶ ταῦτα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγει· ὁ πατὴρ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ εἰς θεός, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος κάτωθεν τὸ ἴδιον πρόσωπον ὑποφαίνει. καὶ οὕτως τὰ δύο πρόσωπα πληροῦνται.

From Epiphanius *Haer.* 65 (Dindorf iii 6, 7, 12).

These three sayings appear to have been closely connected with one another. All three are attributed by Epiphanius, not to Paul himself, but to his followers. The first two stand close together in an orthodox argument based on Joh. i 1; the first, though only a variant of the formula with which frag. ix 1 begins, expresses that formula in the precise form presupposed by extract 3, which is much further on in Epiphanius. We may conjecture that here as elsewhere (see frag. ix) Epiphanius has worked up into his argument a speech of Malchion in the *Acta*. Confirmation of the conjecture is found in words which immediately follow the sentence from which extract 2 is taken: εἰ γὰρ ἐν καρδίᾳ λόγον θεὸν (i. θεὸς?) ἔχει, καὶ οὐ γεγεννημένον, πῶς πληροῦται τὸ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος; οὐ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λόγος ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· οὔτε γὰρ ζῇ οὔτε ὑπέστη. Here the words γεγεννημένον and ὑπέστη remind us of the second sentence of frag. i, where the same

verbs are used in successive clauses and applied to the Logos. It is hard to escape the impression that there is a connexion between the two passages. But what is the nature of the connexion? Here we are told in effect that since, according to Paul, the Logos is not begotten, it cannot in his view be hypostatic. In frag. i Paul himself says that the Logos *is* begotten, and so is hypostatic. No one could have written or uttered the passage before us with direct reference to frag. i. But there is no difficulty in believing that it contains the substance of an argument of Malchion, to which frag. i is Paul's answer: he denies both premiss and conclusion. If this supposition is correct it follows that our three extracts give the gist of sayings of Paul in the Disputation at Antioch, uttered before frag. i and supplemented by it. The fact, already noted, that they are ascribed by Epiphanius to the 'Samosatites' does not negative this conclusion. For though Paul and Malchion were the principal, if not the only, disputants at Antioch, each had a party behind him, and spoke in its name. It was to be expected that statements of Paul should be counted as expressing the mind of the Samosatene faction (cp. frag. ix 3).

The second saying of the group is not explicitly quoted by Epiphanius. But that Paul used words to the same effect is implied: *εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τὸ ὄν εἶναι οὐ κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν*. This sentence supplies additional proof that Epiphanius is using, with little skill, an anti-Paulianist writing. For up to this point he has attributed to Paul no opinion against which it could be directed. For *κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν* compare *λόγος προφορικός* in the quotations from Marius Mercator and the *Anacephalaeosis* of Epiphanius, under frag. ix.

In the third extract we have what is evidently a mere scrap of a longer passage. The subject of *λέγει* is 'the man' Jesus, who is described in the previous clause as inspired by the Logos. The word *ταῦτα* must refer to sayings of Jesus mentioned in the document used by Epiphanius. They are said to have been spoken of 'the man' himself. Clearly the document quoted other sayings distinguished from these, in which, according to Paul, he spoke not concerning himself, but, presumably, concerning the Logos which dwelt in him. Some such clause as *ἐκεῖνα λέγει περὶ τοῦ λόγου* has been omitted. Now in the preceding section of Epiphanius (§ 6) a series of sayings of Jesus (Joh. v 43; viii 17 f, 28; xiv 9; xv 26; xvi 14 f; Matt. xi 25; Lk. x 22) is found, which in their obvious interpretation contradict Paul's doctrine of 'the man from below'. Even if we may not assume that Epiphanius took them from Malchion's speeches in the *Acta*, it was inevitable that Malchion should quote such sayings in the course of his argument against the heresiarch. How would Paul dispose of them?

It would seem that only one way was open to him. He would maintain that in such utterances 'the man' was the mere mouthpiece of the Logos (compare the exposition of Acts x 36 in frag. ii): that Christ spoke concerning the Logos, or rather that the Logos spoke through him concerning itself. This principle of exegesis could not be easily brushed aside, at least in regard of such of this type of sayings—the greater number—as are recorded in the Gospel of the Logos. And certainly some such principle is implied in Paul's quotation of Joh. xiv 10 in support of his doctrine (see frag. ix 1). On the other hand, he cited other sayings, such as Joh. v 27,¹ in which the manhood of Christ was made prominent. Most of them, no doubt, came from the Synoptic Gospels. Of them he would of necessity affirm, ταῦτα περὶ ἐαυτοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγει. It may be observed that these words, as they appear in Epiphanius, are without relevance to the context; they follow a series of sayings of Christ, of which Paul could make no such statement—a further indication that Epiphanius was making a not very intelligent use of a written source. In the latter part of extract 3 Paul is apparently justifying the severance of the Logos from the human person of the Christ, which his exegesis implies. The Logos, he says, in fact belongs to a different personality. This is apparently the saying of Paul quoted in the letter of the Synod of Antioch from the ὑπομνήματα (i. e. the *Acta*), ὅπου λέγει Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κάτωθεν.² In this extract the word *νῆς*, after λόγος in a previous clause, is suspicious. It may have been written in place of λόγῳ by Epiphanius.

FRAGMENT XI.

τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι χρισθεὶς προσηγορεύθη χριστός, πάσχων κατὰ φύσιν, θαυματουργῶν κατὰ χάριν. τῷ γὰρ ἀτρέπτῳ τῆς γνώμης ὁμοιωθεὶς τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μίνας καθαρὸς ἀμαρτίας ἦν ὡς αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐνηργήθη πονεῖν ἐλέσθαι³ τὴν τῶν θαυμάτων δυναστείαν, ἐξ ὧν μίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς τῇ θελήσει ἐνέργειαν ἔχειν⁴ δειχθεὶς, λυτρωτὴς τοῦ γένους καὶ σωτὴρ ἐχρημάτισεν.

This and the four pieces which follow it are the surviving fragments of a work of Paul entitled πρὸς Σαβῖνον λόγοι. They were first printed by Mai (*Nova Collectio* vii 68), from a Vatican manuscript. It is not necessary to discuss the question of their genuineness. Harnack accepts them 'in spite of their standing in the very worst company'.⁵

FRAGMENT XII.

αἱ διάφοραι φύσεις καὶ τὰ διάφορα πρόσωπα ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἐνώσεως ἔχουσι

¹ Cramer *Catena* iii 235.² Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 11. See above, p. 27.³ For πονεῖν ἐλέσθαι Harnack suggests ποιεῖσθαι.⁴ MS ἔχων.⁵ *Dogmengesch.* (E. T.) iii 39; *Chronol. der allchrist. Litt.* ii 137.

τρόπον τὴν κατὰ τὴν θέλησιν σύμβασιν, ἐξ ἧς ἡ κατὰ ἐνέργειαν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτως συμβιβασθέντων ¹ ἀλλήλοις ἀναφαίνεται μονάς.

FRAGMENT XIII.

ἅγιος καὶ δίκαιος γέγονεν ἡμῶν ὁ σωτήρ, ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ τὰς τοῦ προπάτορος ἡμῶν κρατήσας ἁμαρτίας· οἷς κατορθώσας τὴν ἀρετὴν, συνήφθη τῷ θεῷ, μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν βούλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν προκοπαῖς ἐσχηκώς· ἣν ἀδιαίρετον φυλάξας τὸ ὄνομα κληροῦται τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, στοργῆς ἑπαθλον αὐτῷ χαρισθέν.

Note the reference to Phil. ii 9 in the last clause.

FRAGMENT XIV.

μὴ θαυμάσης ὅτι μίαν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν θέλησιν εἶχεν ὁ σωτήρ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ φύσις μίαν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φανεροὶ τὴν οὐσίαν· οὕτως ἡσχέσις τῆς ἀγάπης μίαν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάζεται θέλησιν διὰ μᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φανερουμένης ² εὐαρεστίσεως.

FRAGMENT XV.

τὰ κρατούμενα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔπαινον· τὰ δὲ σχέσει φιλίας κρατούμενα ὑπεραίνονται, μὴ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ κρατούμενα, διὰ μᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας βεβαιούμενα, καὶ τῆς κατ' ἐπαύξησιν οὐδέποτε πανοιήνης κινήσεως· καθ' ἣν τῷ θεῷ συναφθεῖς ὁ σωτήρ οὐδέποτε δέχεται μερισμὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, μίαν αὐτὸς ³ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν, αἷ κινουμένην τῇ φανερώσει τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

FRAGMENT XVI.

κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν μέγας καὶ ἐκλεκτὸς προφήτης ἐστίν, ἵσως μεσίτης καὶ νομοθέτης τῆς κρείττονος διαθήκης γενόμενος· ὅστις ἑαυτὸν ἱεουργήσας ὑπὲρ πάντων μίαν ἐφάνη καὶ θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν θεόν, θέλων ὥσπερ θεὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν ⁴ τῆς δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ δι' ὧν εἰργάσατο φανερωθείσης.

This and the two following fragments are printed in *Mai Nova Collectio* vii 68, from the same MS as frags. xi-xv, in which they are ascribed to Ebion. The reasons given by Harnack (*Dogmengesch.*, E. T. iii 44) for attributing them to Paul are scarcely convincing, though they certainly have points of contact with his teaching. I have thought it well, however, to include them in this collection.

FRAGMENT XVII.

σχέσει γὰρ τῇ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πόθῳ τῷ κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν συναφθεῖς τῷ θεῷ, οὐδὲν ἔσχεν μερισμὸν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, διὰ τὸ μίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ

¹ MS συμβαθίντων.

² MS φανερουμένης.

³ MS αὐτῷ.

⁴ MS ἐστ.

θεοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν.

FRAGMENT XVIII.

εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλησεν αὐτὸν¹ θεὸς σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ κατεδέξατο λέγων, μὴ τὸ εἶμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γενέσθαι θέλημα, δῆλον ὅτι μίαν ἔσχεν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὴν πράξιν, ἐκεῖνο θελήσας καὶ πράξας, ὅπερ ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ.

We now proceed to set forth, so far as the foregoing collection of his *dicta* may enable us to do so, the main lines of the teaching of Paul of Samosata.

It is plain that he held a Monarchianist doctrine of the Godhead. He insisted strongly on the unity of God, relying mainly on Deut. vi 4, 'The Lord thy (*σίς*) God is one Lord'; and this uni-personal God he identifies with the Father (ix 1, 2). But the Word or Wisdom was from eternity (*δαί*) in God, in the same manner as reason (*λόγος*) is in the heart of man, as an element of his personality (ix 1; x 1). Thus the Word is rightly described as *ὁμοούσιος τῷ θεῷ* (*πατρί*), inasmuch as its *οὐσία* or *ὑπόστασις* is identical with that of the Father (vii 2). The Word was begotten by God, and so had a real existence (i). Paul does not directly state that it was begotten 'before the ages', but the general trend of his teaching seems to imply this; and it is pre-supposed in his argument that 'Mary was not the mother of the Word, for neither was she before the ages' (ii l. 4). The assertion that it was begotten obviously involves the admission that the Word though impersonal was in some sense the Son of God. But Paul seldom, if ever, uses that phrase (ix 1; x 3, with notes). The Word was essentially *λόγος προφορικός* (x 2), *λόγος ἐνεργός*, and therefore attained full existence only in activity. When not active it may be regarded as dormant in God: it was not *ἐνυπόστατος* (ix 1), almost *ἀνύπαρκτος* (p. 18), existed *τῷ προορισμῷ*²; when active it existed *τῇ ὑπάρξει* (ix 4).

The Holy Spirit is mentioned by Paul in connexion with the birth of Christ. He plainly held that the Spirit was distinct from, and indeed inferior to, the Word; for the Christ, begotten of the Spirit, was not in any sense divine (i; ii l. 6). When Epiphanius (see ix 1) places the Word and Holy Spirit on a level, and describes both as in God as reason is in the heart of a man, he is apparently putting his own gloss on the words of the Samosatene. It is quite possible that Paul had not elaborated a doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Paul's Christology was adoptionist. He accepts the Virgin Birth. Jesus Christ was 'begotten of the Holy Ghost' and born of 'the

¹ MS *αὐτός*.

² Compare the Letter of the Bishops (Routh *Rel. Sac.* iii 290) *πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, οὐ προγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑποστάσει θεόν*.

Virgin through the Holy Ghost' (i). Yet he was a mere man. But 'the man' was anointed by the Holy Ghost, and for that reason was called Christ (i; xi). There is no express statement concerning the time or manner of this anointing. But inasmuch as Paul states that Jesus Christ (not merely Jesus) was begotten of the Holy Ghost, it may probably be inferred that it took place in the very act of conception. Thus Christ was a man like one of us (ἡμῖν ἴσον); yet superior to other men in all respects, 'since grace was upon him from the Holy Ghost and from the promises and from the things that are written' in the Scriptures (ii l. 7). Thus he had a special preparation (κατασκευή), such as was vouchsafed to none other, for the reception of the divine Logos (v). For the Logos or Wisdom went forth from God and was joined to him (i συνῆλθεν; iv συγγεγενῆσθαι; iii συνῆπτο¹). In virtue of his unique preparation the Logos entered into him, not as into a strange place, but as it were coming to its home (ii l. 8 ἵνα μήτε . . . ἄλλότριος ᾗ τῆς σοφίας). That this coming of the Logos into Christ occurred before his birth seems to be implied by the statement that 'Mary received the Logos' (ii l. 5, but see iii). It was not without precedent, for Wisdom was in the prophets, and still more in Moses. But the Logos was in Christ in such a manner as it had never been in any other; it took up its abode in him as in a sanctuary (ii l. 9; ix 1). Thus dwelling in him the Logos inspired Christ (x 3 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέπνευσεν), and through him proclaimed the Gospel of peace to the sons of Israel, as in former times God spoke through the prophets (ii l. 15). The Logos was seen in him (ix 3). By this active indwelling in Christ the Logos attained its true existence, an existence in some sense apart from God (ix 1, 3, 4; see notes); so that it might be said that his being had its beginning from Nazareth (ix 4; see note). At length it returned to God and resumed its former state in God as reason is in the heart of man (ix 1, 3). So Paul seems to explain the significance of the Ascension.

But though the Logos was in Christ it did not invest him with divinity. He dwelt in Christ as we dwell in our houses, neither being part of the other (vi 3). The Logos and Christ were entirely separate from one another, each retaining its own nature (ii l. 11). They were not fused together (vi 2) in such a way as to be constituent parts of a single person (x 3), having a single essence (iv οὐσιωδῶς). Christ was a distinct human person, who possessed the Logos as an attribute (iv κατὰ ποιότητα; Malchion, quoted under vi, κατὰ μάθησιν καὶ μετουσίαν). As man, in virtue of his nature, he suffered; as man, in virtue of the grace bestowed upon him by the Holy Spirit, he worked miracles (xi; cp. ii).²

¹ Here Paul may be using the language of his opponents.

² Against this, it seems, the Letter of the Bishops protests (Routh iii 298): τὰ μὲν σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα τὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἀναγεγραμμένα ὁ θεὸς ἦν ἐπιτελέσας.

But by reason of the indwelling of the Logos the life of the human Christ was a continuous progress towards higher things (xiii ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν προκοπαῖς; cp. Macrostich, quoted under vii ἐκ προκοπῆς). 'By wisdom he became great' (ii l. 3). By the steadfastness of his purpose (τῷ ἀτρέπτῳ τῆς γνώμης) he was made like to God, and remained pure from sin (xi). By contest and labour he conquered the sins of our first parent and established virtue (κατορθώσας τὴν ἀρετὴν) (xiii). Finally he became God (vii 1), was deified (Epistle ap. Greg. Nyss. and Macrostich, quoted under vii). In other words he was united (xi, xii ἡνώθη; xiii, xv συνήφθη) to God, in the only way in which unity between persons is possible (xii), by absolute harmony of will (ἡ κατὰ θέλησιν σύμβασις: cp. xiii-xv). So he attained the title of Redeemer and Saviour of the race (xi). The miracles which he was enabled to work manifested the harmony of his will with the will of God. Having preserved it inviolable he is granted the Name which is above every name (xiii). His union with God is eternal and will never be dissolved (xv).

Our fragments contain no statement as to the time of this deification of Christ. But as it seems to have followed the 'anointing' and the coming of the Logos, after a considerable interval, and to have preceded the laborious conquest of sin by Christ and his exhibition of miraculous power, it may probably be connected with the Baptism. It is clear that it did not entitle Christ to worship as God, since Paul prohibited 'the psalms which had been sung to our Lord Jesus Christ, as recent compositions of recent men' (Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 10).

We learn from the Epistle of the Council of Antioch¹ that Paul revived the heresy of a certain Artemas, whom Eusebius,² Theodoret,³ and others identify with Artemon. Unfortunately we know nothing more of Artemon's system than that it was one of the later developments of the teaching of Theodotus the leather-cutter, who was excommunicated by Pope Victor (c. 190).⁴ It is possible that Artemon was still alive when Paul was condemned,⁵ and it is highly probable that he did not come into prominence till after Hippolytus had written his *Syntagma*⁶ and *Refutation of All Heresies*; for though these books give us the fullest existing account of the various Theodotian sects they do not mention him.

It may be well, however, to draw attention to some parallels between the teaching of Paul, as summarized above, and that of Theodotus and his followers as revealed by Hippolytus. The comparison may be found at once to corroborate the statement that Paul borrowed from

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 16.

² *Ibid.* v 28. 1.

³ *H. F.* ii 4.

⁴ Little Labyrinth ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 28. 6.

⁵ Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 17.

⁶ The part of this lost work which dealt with the Theodotians is the basis of Epiphanius *Haer.* 54 f, Ps.-Tert. *Haer.* 8, and Philastrius *Haer.* 50-52.

Artemon, and to test the accuracy of the account which I have given of Paul's system.

Hippolytus tells us that the doctrine of the Godhead and the creation held by the Theodotians was to some extent (*ἐκ μέρους*) in harmony with that of the Church.¹ From this we may infer that it did not differ greatly from his own, which in later times was by no means counted orthodox. It is, therefore, remarkable that we discover a good deal of resemblance between the teaching somewhat obscurely set forth in his tract *contra Noetianos*, and our account of the Samosatene theology. According to Hippolytus God was absolutely alone, having nothing contemporary with Him. But from eternity the Logos was in Him. When He willed He begat the Logos, in order that through it He might create the world. The Logos came forth from Him as His *δύναμις* (*c. Noet. 10*). But though begotten the Logos was not yet 'perfect son': it was called son by anticipation (*ib. 15*). The Logos became 'perfect son' through the Incarnation (*ib. 4*), by which he was manifested among men (*ib. 10*). Thus Hippolytus, and probably the Theodotians, like Paul, recognized three stages in the existence of the Logos. It is true that our fragments do not warrant the assertion that Paul connected the second stage with the creation. In fact they make no reference to the creation. But, on the other hand, that Paul denied that all things were made through the Logos (*Joh. i 3*) is improbable; and unless he did so, he would not come into conflict, on that subject, with his opponents at Antioch. Thus the silence of the fragments is easily explained. And the creation cannot have been the work of the Logos remaining immanent in God. We may safely assume that the creative work of the Logos was assigned to the second stage of its being. Hippolytus emphasizes the invisibility of the Logos in the pre-existent state (*ib. 10*), as does also Paul (*frag. ii l. 18*). And if Hippolytus says that the invisibility came to an end with the incarnation, Paul held a not dissimilar opinion (*frag. ix 3*). Hippolytus, with Paul, confessed that the Logos was in the prophets, acting as its own herald (*c. Noet. 12*; *cp. frag. ii l. 9 f*).

But it was in the Christology of the Theodotians that Hippolytus detected heresy.² Theodotus held that Jesus was a mere man,³ though he admitted the miraculous birth; and he maintained that he continued merely human after he became Christ, though subsequent to the

¹ *Ref. vii 35*; *x 23*. The remark was primarily made in reference to Theodotus the leather-cutter. But the context shows that it applied also to his successors.

² *Ref. vii 35*; *x 23*, and *Syntagma* as preserved in the passages cited p. 43, note 6.

³ Note the phrase: *Hipp. Ref. vii 35* ἄνθρωπον . . . βιώσαντα κοινῶς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις; *x 23*; κ[οιν]ὸν ἄνθρωπον πᾶσιν. *Cp. Eus. H. E. vii 27. 2* ὡς κοινῶς τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου.

which is not the power to work miracles. Apart from this he was distinguished from other men only by his piety and righteousness. In the Theodotians agreed with Paul. But two points emerge in view of the fact that Paul's authority. He denied that Jesus in any sense was *divine* God. Thus he refused to allow that from man a *divine* God. However some of his followers—apparently not Theodotians—held a different view. They seem to have said that Jesus *was* God after the resurrection. Taking this in connection with the fact that the doctrine of the incarnation which set in motion the controversy we may find in it the germ of Paul's doctrine of the *Logos*.

In the case of Theodotians as known in Hippolytus taught that Jesus *was* God in his earthly while Paul affirmed that Jesus *was* the son of the Father. But a sect of Theodotians were separated from the main body under Theodotus the deacon known as the *Antiochians* introduced much the original teaching by way of Jesus. They introduced *Antiochianism* into the scheme, in so far as they believed that Jesus did for men on earth, saying that he was a very great power of God and superior to the Christ. The *Antiochians* were in of Paul's. The *Logos* is superior to the Christ. Thus it would be at once seen for a sect Theodotian is subordinate to *Logos* or *Antiochianism* or perhaps it identifies the two powers. As in the Theodotians the *Antiochians* used the fourth Gospel,¹ and it is probable therefore if the sect continued in being for a considerable time that the *Logos* doctrine in some way be connected with its teaching and it is probable therefore a fourth move again in that of Paul. The sect will have been the work of Antiochian.

It is well to remember that the *Antiochian* sect was a modification of the system of Antioch or some other Theodotian leader.

H. J. LAYTON.

¹ See viii p. 1000 with the addition of the *Antiochian* sect of the *Antiochian* sect.

² They are mentioned in *Antiochian* sect.

³ See *Antiochian* sect of the *Antiochian* sect.

THE METAPHYSIC OF NESTORIUS.

WHAT Nestorius really taught, and whether he was himself orthodox or a heretic, are questions which have been reopened by the discovery of his own defence of his position in the 'Book of Heraclides'.¹ So long as the first of these remains a mystery, the second cannot be answered; and this paper is put forward as a suggestion towards the interpretation of Nestorius's writing and the understanding of what he taught. It deals mainly with one point, the meaning of the word *πρόσωπον* in Nestorius's teaching; but as the argument in the *Liber Heraclidis* depends on his use of the word, it is a point which must receive our first attention.

The traditional view of Nestorius has been that he thought to solve the Christological problem by the theory of a 'moral union': 'The answer was found in the theory of a moral union, the association of Jesus the Son of Mary with the eternal Logos: an association the basis of which is the actual moral identity of the will of Jesus with the divine will of the Logos.'² Such a theory could only be satisfactory if it were based on a metaphysic in which the ultimate reality is identified with will: but, in the language of patristic theology, that would involve identifying will with *οὐσία*, and the slightest acquaintance with Nestorius's writings is enough to shew that he never did that. Dr Loofs has put forward the theory that Nestorius did not mean to teach any metaphysical union at all. He opposes what he calls a 'personal and moral' union to all kinds of metaphysical union, and holds that Nestorius cared nothing for the latter. We misunderstand him because 'we cannot free ourselves from metaphysics'. Without stopping to discuss the curious notion that any non-metaphysical Christology can be satisfactory, or whether such a conception can credibly be ascribed to a patristic theologian, I shall hope first to shew that Nestorius did,

¹ Cf. Bethune-Baker *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Cambridge 1908; Loofs *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge 1914; and criticisms of the above in the *Church Quarterly Review* by H. M. Relton (Jan. 1912) and A. C. Headlam (July 1915). Also R. H. Connolly and A. J. Mason in *J. T. S.* xii 486, and xv 88.

² Weston *The One Christ* (1914) p. 88.

as a matter of fact, mean to put forward a metaphysical theory ; secondly, to make a suggestion as to what that theory was ; and, thirdly, to offer some few criticisms on what I believe him to have taught.

I

When we ask whether Nestorius meant to teach that Christ was one person or two persons, we are faced by the fact that there is in his terminology no word precisely similar to our 'person'. He shares with all his contemporaries an outlook not yet concerned with the psychological investigation which has produced the problem of the nature of personality as it appears in modern philosophy.¹ Still, if by 'personality' we mean the real centre of being of a person, that idea was rightly expressed by the use, which came to be generally adopted in Nestorius's day from the Cappadocian Fathers, of *ὑπόστασις* ; which word, although commonly rendered in Latin by *persona*, itself really means *individua subsistentia*. It denotes some thing objectively existent, one piece of reality, so to say, which in the case of a human being will naturally be his personality, though in the case of a material thing we could not use that term to describe it. It is in this sense of *ὑπόστασις*, I am inclined to think, that Cyril bases the oneness of Christ on a *ἔνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*.

Nestorius generally used *ὑπόστασις* in the older sense, as equivalent to *οὐσία*, though there are a few passages in which he shews himself to be acquainted with, and even accepts the newer usage.² Apart from these he has no word which, like *ὑπόστασις* in Cyril, may be looked on as expressing the germ of that conception of 'person' which is still growing to-day. When he wishes to emphasize the unity of Christ's essential (as we should say) personal being, he simply uses the number 'one', or denies that he makes Christ two. He teaches that Christ is one : he denies that he believes in two Sons or two Lords or two Christs.³ This is in effect a claim not to be condemned as Nestorian in the traditional sense, and our object is to discover how he attempted to make good this claim.

It is a question, he says, of the *kind* of unity possible in the circumstances, and to describe it he uses the word *πρόσωπον*. We will call it provisionally *prosopic union*. His argument seems to rest on two principles.

¹ Cf. C. C. J. Webb *Studies in the History of Natural Theology* pp. 143 sq.

² Cf. Bethune-Baker *op. cit.* p. 50.

³ e.g. 'Dominum nostrum Christum secundum naturam duplicem dicamus, secundum quod est filius, unum', Loofs *Nestoriana* p. 341 ; and cf. *Heracleides* pp. 196, 261, &c. (The references throughout are to Nau's French Translation, as I am unfortunately not able to read Syriac.)

(1) Divine and human *οὐσία* being entirely different things, absolutely antithetical the one to the other, they must remain so in the union of them in Christ, if He is to be perfect God and perfect man: for if either the godhead changes into the manhood, or vice versa, one or other will not be there at all: and if the two are fused, Christ will be neither God nor man, but some new kind of being.¹

(2) The union must be voluntary on both sides. We cannot think either of Christ's humanity or of His divinity as being constrained against its will as a result of the union.²

With these two principles in his mind he turns to consider the three kinds of unity which he finds have to be taken into account.

(a) There is the unity of the Persons in the Trinity.

(b) There is the unity of soul and body in man.

(c) There is the unity of godhead and manhood in Christ.

In the Trinity the Father and the Son are one in *οὐσία* and *φύσις*, but differ in *πρόσωπον*, while soul and body differ in *οὐσία* and *φύσις*, but are united *φυσικῶς* so as to make one human *οὐσία* with human *φύσις*. So he calls the first of these a unity of *οὐσία*, and the second a natural union (*ἐνωσις φυσικῇ*). Now, the godhead and the manhood in Christ cannot be united like the persons in the Trinity, for their *οὐσία* are two and not one³: but neither can they be united like soul and body, for the union of soul and body is not a voluntary union; they are both created things held together by the will of their Creator, and besides, they are both by themselves, unlike the godhead and the manhood of Christ, incomplete things incapable of separate existence.⁴ So there must be some third kind of unity, exemplified in the third case, and this he calls a unity of *πρόσωπον*.

All the way through he confidently appeals to this conception of a prosopic union as though it explained everything, and as though it were quite clear what the word *πρόσωπον* meant. What it did mean to him we shall consider below: the immediate point is that from his use of it in discussing these three kinds of unity we may surely conclude that to him it meant something parallel to *οὐσία* and *φύσις*. But these are elements in the metaphysical analysis of a thing, and so *πρόσωπον*, whatever the word means, must denote some other such element, and if so, then the phrase 'prosopic union' must represent an attempt to find a real metaphysical unity of the godhead and the manhood in Christ.

¹ *Heracleides* pp. 23-24, &c., and cf. his accusation of Cyril on p. 282.

² *Ibid.* pp. 35, 158, 268, and cf. Loofs *Nestorius* p. 68.

³ *Ibid.* p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 35, 158, 268.

The belief that *πρόσωπον* denotes a real element in the being of a thing is strengthened by the consideration of such passages as these :

‘Although the *πρόσωπον* does not exist without the *οὐσία*, yet the *οὐσία* and the *πρόσωπον* are not the same thing’, and

‘We do not, like Sabellius, make the *πρόσωπον* essenceless.’¹

It looks then as though in the metaphysic of Nestorius everything that exists may be analysed into *οὐσία*, *φύσις*, and *πρόσωπον*. We must now ask what in this analysis the word *πρόσωπον* is used to describe.

II

‘For Nestorius’, says Dr Loofs, ‘who . . . was influenced by the manner of speaking common at that time, the main thing in his notion of *πρόσωπον*, according to the etymology of the word, was the *external undivided appearance*. . . . In his opinion, I believe, everything had its *πρόσωπον*, that is its appearance, its kind of being seen and judged. In not a few places in Nestorius, it is true, the meaning of *πρόσωπον* coincides with our meaning of the word “person”, e.g. “Cyril’s *πρόσωπον*” means Cyril, “these *πρόσωπα*” means these persons, and *εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτός* and *ἐν πρόσωπον* may be used alternately. Nevertheless . . . I must lay stress on the fact that the notion of *πρόσωπον* in Nestorius grew upon another soil and, therefore, had a wider application than our term “person”.’² A similar account of the Syriac word *paršôpâ*, which is used throughout the *Liber Heraclidis* to represent *πρόσωπον*, is given in a note added to Prof. Bethune-Baker’s work.³ These passages suggested to me that we should take this simple and clear meaning of *πρόσωπον*, a meaning which the word is undoubtedly able to bear, and, using it as parallel to ‘essence’ and ‘nature’ in the metaphysical analysis, see how far it would carry us in the interpretation of Nestorius’s writing. The surprising thing was that throughout the *Liber Heraclidis* the understanding of *πρόσωπον* in this way gave an intelligible sense, and presented a coherent and consistent Christological theory sufficiently simple to explain how Nestorius could confidently appeal to it as the solution of all difficulty.

In modern times, of course, many thinkers have distinguished between a thing as it is in itself and as it appears to us. In this they have usually started by considering the fact of error in sense-perception, or by contrasting our ‘mental image’ or ‘idea’ of a thing with the reality it is supposed to represent. But neither of these lines of thought must be ascribed to Nestorius. If *πρόσωπον* for him means the appearance of a thing, it means that appearance not as opposed to the thing’s reality, but considered as an objectively real element in its being ; and

¹ *Heraclides* pp. 150, 202.

² Loofs *Nestorius* p. 76.

³ Bethune-Baker *op. cit.* p. 219.

the genesis of the conception must be sought along other lines. Two suggestions may be made. In the first place, an analysis of reality into *οὐσία* and *φύσις* almost demands such a completion. If the invisible *οὐσία* is that in which the various elements of the *φύσις* are united, a word is needed to describe the external undivided appearance of the whole. And secondly, the common conception of the Godhead as invisible but revealed in Christ who is the *εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς* is a conception akin to that which we are considering.

Supposing then that Nestorius analysed everything that exists into *οὐσία*, *φύσις*, and *πρόσωπον*, that is, into essence, nature (or sum of qualities), and appearance, how can this be applied to Christology?

The godhead and the manhood of Christ each has its *οὐσία*, *φύσις*, and *πρόσωπον*. Now for reasons given above we cannot find the centre of their union in either their *οὐσία* or their *φύσις*. But we *can* think of two different things, different in *οὐσία* and *φύσις*, which nevertheless are identical in appearance. The appearances overlap, so to say. But two identical appearances will be one appearance. Surely here we have found that element in their being in which two *οὐσίαι*, complete with their respective *φύσεις*, can be united so as to be one without ceasing to be themselves.

At first sight this certainly does not look like any real union at all. Two things which look alike are not one thing. But such a criticism entirely misunderstands Nestorius's thought. For him the *πρόσωπον* is no mere appearance. It is a real element in the being of a thing, without which, or if it were other than it is, the thing would not be what it is. A *πρόσωπον* which was not the *πρόσωπον* of an *οὐσία* would be a mere illusion, a figment of the imagination, and neither the manhood nor the godhead of Christ was that. On the other hand, an *οὐσία* without a *πρόσωπον* was unthinkable.¹ And so a prosopic union is a real union, and that kind of real union which is possible in the particular case we are considering.

The ordinary view of Nestorius's position is that he taught that the manhood and the godhead of Christ existed in two separate persons who were united by a 'moral union', that is, two persons whose wills were identical in content: the man Jesus being granted *κατ' εὐδοκίαν* complete unity with the Logos. Undoubtedly Nestorius did teach the existence of two wills which were one in that they willed alike.² But he taught

¹ 'Nestorius as an adherent of the Antiochian school could as little realize a really existent nature without *πρόσωπον* as without *ὑπόστασις*, for the whole of the characteristics which make the nature must, in his opinion, as necessarily have a form of appearance, i.e. a *πρόσωπον* as a real being by which they are borne, i.e. a *ὑπόστασις*.' Loofs *Nestorius* p. 78. Cf. *Heracleides* pp. 150, 194, 202.

² *Heracleides* pp. 59, 62-63, 67, 144.

more than this. The contents of the wills are alike, it is true, but also in one of the three elements of their being their owners are united in a real metaphysical union. So although he says 'To have the *πρόσωπον* of God is in effect to will what God wills',¹ yet he denies that he teaches a union of two separate persons united by love and by an equality of honour and power.² No, there is a real metaphysical unity, and he neither teaches nor believes in 'two Sons'.³

The following quotations are examples of the passages which suggest the above interpretation of *πρόσωπον* :—

'He is truly man in His human essence, the essence of the man in whom He is wholly incarnate for all men, and whom he has made His *πρόσωπον*. He has appeared in the human sphere, and borne himself in human nature, being God in human nature. Like a king who in a soldier's uniform⁴ bears himself as a soldier and not as a king and wears the uniform of the army against all that needs to be punished, and one says in a word that he is wearing the uniform, because he has a soldier's uniform just like all the rest—like him He was incarnate in a (single) man for all men of the same nature, for He was in their nature, and in it has spoken to each man, because He spoke as though by the human nature.'

'... the union of the godhead and the manhood. In whatever the *πρόσωπον* is by its own nature there is union as of one *πρόσωπον*, even for the other essence. For He has taken the man for his *πρόσωπον*, but not for his essence or nature so as to make him consubstantial with the Father or a second Son, in order that there should not be more than the one same Son. For the *πρόσωπον* of the godhead is the manhood, and the *πρόσωπον* of the manhood is the godhead. The *πρόσωπον* is one thing by nature and another in the union.'

'It is not without *πρόσωπον* and without *ὑπόστασις* that each of the natures is known in its diversity. We do not think of two *πρόσωπα* of sons, or of two *πρόσωπα* of men, but of the *πρόσωπον* of a single man which is moved in the same way even by the other [nature]. The union of the *πρόσωπα* has taken place in *πρόσωπον*, and not in essence or nature. One must not think of an essence without *ὑπόστασις*, as though there had been a union of essences in one essence, and a single *πρόσωπον* of a single essence. The natures subsist in their *πρόσωπα* and in their natures and in the single *πρόσωπον* of the union. In virtue of the union the one nature makes use of the *πρόσωπον* which naturally belongs to the other, so that there is only one *πρόσωπον* for the two natures. The *πρόσωπον* of one essence makes use of the *πρόσωπον* of the other as well.'

'The man is not adored in his own *πρόσωπον*, but in the *πρόσωπον* which is united to him, and which, as a result of the union, is common.

¹ *Heracleides* p. 56.

² *Ibid.* pp. 168-169, 196-197, &c.

³ *Ibid.* p. 277.

⁴ *σχῆμα*.

It is in the *πρόσωπον* that the union has taken place, so that this is that and that this.'

'In the union of the natures there is found in them one single *πρόσωπον* without division or separation. Under the natural *πρόσωπον* there is found one nature, and its *πρόσωπον* makes use of the *πρόσωπον* of the other nature too.'

"As for what the gospels say of our Lord", says John of Antioch, "we recognize those theologians who interpret the common properties as attributed to a single *πρόσωπον*." Do you hear this testimony (Cyril)? "To one *πρόσωπον*", not to one nature. Why do you alter their testimony? The common properties they attribute, as has been said, to a common *πρόσωπον*. But you do not conceive of anything common. To what are they to attribute the common qualities, since there exists nothing common except in the case of those who make use of a common *πρόσωπον*? So speak of one common *πρόσωπον*, and attribute the things in common to one *πρόσωπον*. That is what makes the *πρόσωπον* common, for it becomes common if it is formed of things which are in some way opposed, so that it is not single but common.'¹

These passages are only a small selection to illustrate Nestorius's prevailing use of *πρόσωπον* and treatment of the subject.² There are also passages of great significance in which the object of the sharing of the *πρόσωπα* is said to be *manifestation*, e.g. 'It was recognized that God the Word is said to have become flesh and Son of man after the form and the *πρόσωπον* of the flesh and of the man which He made use of to reveal Himself to the world.'³ We must also note what a prominent place in his Christological argument is taken by the passage in Philipians ii 7, where St Paul speaks of the Son taking the 'form of a servant'.

One is apt to think that this interpretation of Nestorius's teaching cannot be right because it is so simple and obvious that he must have meant something more. If this was his doctrine, the doubt and confusion which exists as to what he taught could never have arisen. But I am not sure that the very simplicity of it may not have been both the ground of its attractiveness to Nestorius and the cause of its being overlooked by students of him. Certainly his language throughout the *Liber Heraclidis* is the language of one who believes that he is presenting a simple, clear, and satisfactory solution of the Christological problem, which removes all difficulty. Any one who turns from struggling to understand Dr Loofs' interpretation of Nestorius to the study of the *Liber Heraclidis* itself must find it incredible that the

¹ *Heraclides* pp. 18, 167-168, 193-194, 211, 274, 280.

² *Ibid.* pp. 50, 130, 140, 145 (see Loofs as to the probable dislocation of the text, *Nestorius* p. 91), 218, 219, &c.

³ *Ibid.* p. 139. Cf. pp. 52, 152, 173.

theory which Nestorius presents with such confidence should be anything so obscure as his interpreter makes out. And yet its simplicity, on the interpretation suggested above, is based on a very acute subtlety of metaphysical thought, which might easily have rendered the theory unintelligible to many even in his own day; though Cyril may well have understood it when he wrote οὐ διαιρετέον τοιγαροῦν εἰς υἱοὺς δύο τὸν ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. ὀνήσει δὲ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς πίστεως λόγον εἰς τὸ οὕτως ἔχειν, κἂν εἰ προσώπων ἔνωσιν ἐπιφήμιζωσί τινες· οὐ γὰρ εἴρηκεν ἡ γραφή, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον ἦν ἦν ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅτι γέγονε σάρξ.¹

III

In this brief sketch of a suggested interpretation of Nestorius's teaching I have concentrated attention on what seems to be the main point of his teaching as set forth in the 'Liber Heraclidis'. It is true that he objected to the term *θεοτόκος* as implying the ascription of a human mode of existence to the divine οὐσία, though he was willing to accept it if properly safeguarded. It is true that he spoke of a unity of will owing to the divine and the human will in Christ willing alike. So far he is purely Nestorian in the traditional sense, and such teaching may be found discussed in any work on Christian doctrine. But if beyond all this he went on to explain the Incarnation as a union in *πρόσωπον* in the sense outlined above, then this will be really the keystone of his dogmatic edifice, and by this he must stand or fall.

Now, in the first place, as often in the case of philosophical theories, the almost immediate objection of the plain man is really justified. Two things which look alike are not really one, and in trying to shew that they are Nestorius has fallen into a temptation which always besets philosophers. All metaphysical systems are attempts to describe reality, but unless at every step one's thought is tested by reference to the reality one is trying to describe, it is fatally easy to elaborate the system, but in doing so to wander further and further from the truth. So here, when we have analysed real things into οὐσία, φύσις, and πρόσωπον, it is tempting to play with these three elements of the analysis as Nestorius does, as though they were the real object of our thought. But if we go back to consider the real thing, and see how it is a unity whose elements are only separable in thought, we see that the πρόσωπον is so bound up with the οὐσία and φύσις that two different οὐσῖαι and φύσεις must have different πρόσωπα. Two identical πρόσωπα would be indeed not two but one, and would imply but one οὐσία and φύσις. The Christology of Nestorius is only possible when his metaphysic has become thoroughly artificial.

¹ Cyril *ad Nest.* ii ll. 101-106 (Bindley).

Secondly, this statement that the system is artificial is borne out when we remember that there is in reality another kind of unity to be considered which is not allowed for by Nestorius. Where are we to place the unity of God and man in the prophets, of Christ and man in the Christian? The fact that Nestorius was accused of Samosatene teaching shews that he was felt to be unsatisfactory on this point: although he himself repeatedly denies that he taught that Christ was a mere man, or that he had any sympathy with Paul of Samosata.¹ But surely there are only three possibilities:—

- (a) Christ and the Christian are united according to one of Nestorius's three kinds of union.
- (b) That list of kinds of union is not exhaustive.
- (c) They are not really united.

Nestorius really seems to have taught (c).² But if we are not satisfied with this we must choose between (a) and (b). Now for Nestorius (b) would destroy his main argument, In what can they be united except the *πρόσωπον*?; and he has ruled out (a) in teaching that Godhead and manhood cannot be united in *οὐσία* or *φύσις*, and that the prosopic union does not make Christ a man like other men.

So we come to a third criticism. If Nestorius's theory after all does not provide a real union between the godhead and the manhood in Christ, nor allow for a real union between the Christian and God, then, from the point of view of religion, the One Mediator between God and man has not been found; from the point of view of philosophy the universe contains an unresolved dualism between two utterly opposed *οὐσίαι*, godhead and manhood. Here of course lies the importance of Christ for metaphysics: godhead and manhood finding their oneness in Him He is thus the guarantee of the rationality of the universe. The Christological problem is the problem of explaining that oneness, and the 'prosopic union' of Nestorius's theory is not strong enough to bear the strain it was designed to meet.

It is the conception of the complete and eternal antithesis between Godhead and manhood which prevents any satisfactory solution of the problem, but neither Nestorius nor any of his contemporary theologians would ever have thought of questioning the truth of this conception. The difference between Nestorius and Cyril is that whereas Nestorius is throughout perfectly consistent, and his theory a brilliant attempt to solve the problem on the basis of a principle which renders all solution impossible, Cyril's greatness lies in the very fact of his inconsistency.

¹ Cf. *Heracleides* pp. 173, 210, and Loofs *Nestoriana* pp. 182, 192, 222, 299, 303-312.

² *Heracleides* pp. 45-46, 71.

He would no more question the antithesis between godhead and manhood than would Nestorius, but where the truth was too much for his system, he preferred the truth to the system, and by his self-contradiction (which Nestorius exposes again and again) left room for further development of Christological doctrine in the future.

What, then, will be our judgement on Nestorius? If the above interpretation of his teaching be true, he surely represents a very gallant and ingenious attempt to explain the Incarnation without giving up the belief that in Christ is to be found a complete human person as well as a complete divine person. He could not think of humanity except as existing in a distinct human person; for him, to deny the human *ὑπόστασις* of Christ was to teach an Apollinarian maimed humanity.¹ Cyril boldly gave up belief in a distinct human *ὑπόστασις* in Christ. Nestorius saw at once that this was inconsistent with the belief of both as to the relation between God and man, but in Cyril's inconsistency we have still a challenge to thought and to the search for a perfect Christology which is not to be found in the barren coherence of Nestorius.

LEONARD HODGSON.

¹ e. g. *Heracleides* p. 212.

THE CORONATION ORDER IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

I

THE anonymous *Life of St Oswald* contains a detailed account of the Coronation of King Edgar at Bath in 973 by the two archbishops Dunstan and Oswald.¹ This account follows so closely the Order found in the Cotton MS, Claudius A. iii, as to make it certain that the writer had before him either this very codex or one more like it than any other that we know.

The Coronation Orders of the latter part of the tenth century represent two stages of developement. The earlier stage is found in the Corbey Sacramentary, which was written, probably in the abbey of St Vaast at Arras, by the order of Ratoldus abbot of Corbey, who died in 986.² Akin to it is the rather later form found in a MS written in the province of Rheims, which Wattenbach was inclined to assign to Cambray.³ Now at this period Arras was part of the diocese of Cambray, and it is natural to believe that these two Orders were derived independently from an English codex brought to that region between 960 and 980, possibly by the Corbey monks who came to Abingdon at Ethelwold's invitation to instruct his choir in chanting.⁴

The later stage is represented at its first appearance by the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, the Coronation Order of which stands nearer to the Ratoldus Order than do the forms found in Claudius A. iii (which used to be called King Ethelred's Order) and the other MSS which group themselves with it. The distinctions within this group will concern us later; but at present we may confine our attention to Ratoldus, Claudius A. iii, and the *Vita Oswaldi*.

¹ Historians of York, Rolls Series, i 399 ff.

² Printed by Ménard as an appendix to his Gregorian Sacramentary, Paris, 1642, pp. 278-284 (Migne *P. L.* lxxviii 255-260).

³ Printed by Waitz *Die Formeln der Deutschen Königs- und der Römischen Kaiser-Krönung*, Göttingen, 1873. The MS is now at Cologne Cathedral Library (no. 141), 's. x-xi'. This Order is not noticed, so far as I have observed, by our recent English writers on the subject, though it appears to be referred to in the preface to the Surtees Society's edition of the 'Egbert' Pontifical.

⁴ See the Abingdon interpolation in the Lambeth MS of Florence of Worcester under the year 948. The passage is not printed in the editions, but is given by Wharton *Anglia Sacra* i 136 ff. The statement about Corbey is repeated in the earlier form of the *Historia Abendonensis* (Rolls Series, i 129).

(1) The Ratoldus Order begins with the Petition, which is ordered to be read out by one of the bishops, asking the king to grant to the bishops and their churches canonical right and justice—‘A vobis perdonari petimus’: followed by the Response of the king—‘Promitto vobis et perdono’. The Three Rules of Government proclaimed by the king are not given at this point, but are appended, as ‘Rectitudo regis’, at the close of the service—as in the Order found in the Leofric Missal, and in the longer Order which is given in the so-called Pontifical of Egbert.¹

But in Claudius A. iii the Order opens thus:—

Incipit consecratio regis, quem de conventu seniorum per manus producant duo episcopi ad ecclesiam; et clerus hanc decantet antiphonam duobus episcopis praecinentibus. A. *Firmetur manus tua [et exaltetur dextera tua: iustitia et iudicium praeparatio sedis tuae: misericordia et veritas praecedant faciem tuam. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto].*²

There is nothing of this in the ‘Egbert’ Order, as neither in that of Ratoldus. But clearly it was known to the biographer of St Oswald, who writes thus (p. 436):—

Coronatum atque electum regem gloria et honore perduxerunt ad ecclesiam, quo conventus erat omnium optimatum eius, quemque expectabat omnis plebs: cum quo ibant et revertebantur probatissimi viri et dignissimi abbates niveis vestibus induti ostro atque corporis (*sic*). Hunc inclytum exercitum sequebantur matronae eximiae virtutis abbatissae cum filiabus gloriosis: quos et quas multitudo presbyterorum, quos gerontas seniores appellabant, secuti sunt cum agminibus clericorum. Acceperunt dehinc duo episcopi manus regis, qui eum deduxerunt ad ecclesiam, cunctis alta et modulata concinentibus voce hanc antiphonam: *Firmetur manus tua, et exaltetur dextera tua: iustitia et iudicium praeparatio sedis tuae: misericordia et veritas praecedant faciem tuam.* Hac finita antiphona, *Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto* adiunxerunt.

King Edgar had sat on the throne of the reunited kingdom fourteen years: it is as already ‘coronatus atque electus’ that he proceeds to the church. But the phraseology of the rubric reappears in ‘conventus

¹ Paris, B. N. lat. 10575: a late tenth-century MS (‘um 1000’, Liebermann *Gesetze* ii 562 col. 3). Although I find no reason for connecting it in any way with Abp Egbert, yet for convenience I speak of it in what follows as ‘Egbert’ or Ps-Egbertine. It was long supposed to be a copy of a genuine Pontifical of Egbert (archbishop of York 734–766), owing to the presence at the beginning of the codex of matter now known to be derived from a tenth-century compilation of Ps-Egbertine Penitential Canons, found e.g. in Bodl. MS 718. For this information I am indebted to a memorandum by the late Mr Edmund Bishop.

² Claudius has only: ‘Firmetur manus tua. Ut supra.’ The supplement is from the Benedictional of Abp Robert.

(optimatum)'; and the word 'seniores' is transferred to the presbyters 'quos gerontas seniores appellabant'—a characteristic little show of learning on the writer's part. For the rest the correspondence is complete.

(2) In Ratoldus two bishops now ask the consent of the people: this given, two bishops lead the king to the altar, before which he prostrates himself while the *Te Deum* is sung.

The Claudius MS proceeds:—

Perveniens rex ad aecclesiam prosternat se coram altare, et ymnizetur: *Te deum laudamus, Te dominum confitemur*. Quo finetenus ymnizato, rex erigatur de solo et, ab episcopis et a plebe electus, haec tria se servaturum iura promittat, et clara voce coram deo omnique populo dicit:

Haec tria populo Christiano et mihi subdito in Christi promitto nomine. In primis ut aecclesia dei et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet. Aliud, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdiciam. Tertium, ut in omnibus iudiciis aequitatem et misericordiam praecipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat suam misericordiam clemens et misericors deus, qui vivit. His peractis omnes dicant *Amen*.

Again it will be seen how closely the *Vita Oswaldi* follows this text:—

Cumque pervenissent in ecclesiam et rex ante altare se prosterneret, deponendo prius diademam de capite, inceptit princeps episcoporum Dunstanus hymnum glorificum excelsa voce, *Te deum laudamus, Te dominum confitemur*. Ipse autem nequaquam potuit se propter gaudium et regis humilitatem abstinere a fletu, quia intellexit quod gens ista non meruisset tam humilem tamque sapientem habere. Finito hymno elevaverunt episcopi regem a terra. Tria, interrogante archiepiscopo, iura promisit se servaturum: *In primis promitto ut ecclesia dei et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore conservet. Aliud promitto, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdiciam. Tertium, ut in omnibus iudiciis aequitatem et misericordiam praecipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat suam misericordiam clemens et misericors deus.*

Having brought the king in 'coronatus et electus', the writer must needs omit the clause as to his election by the bishops and people: on the other hand, he makes him lay aside his diadem.

(3) The Claudius MS continues:—

Et hae sequantur orationes a singulis episcopis singulae super regem dicendae: *Te invocamus*, etc. . . . (after the fourth comes the rubric) Hic unguatur oleo, et haec cantetur antiphona. A. *Uncxerunt Salomonem Sadoch sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem in Gion: et accedentes dixerunt, Vivat rex in aeternum.*

The same prayers and the same anthem are found in Ratoldus, where, however, there are some important points of difference of which

it is not necessary to speak at this moment. It will suffice to say that Ratoldus has no rubric directing that the prayers should be said by different bishops. The account in the *Vita Oswaldi* is as follows:—

Explicitis promissionibus stetit archipraesul et oravit pro eo orationes quae in illorum libris scriptae sunt. Deinde secundam dixit Oswaldus Christi minister satis eleganter. Post haec, sicut constituit pater cuius imperiis omnes parebant, peracta consecratione unxerunt eum, et nobili concentu decantaverunt antiphonam: *Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem in Sion: et accedentes dixerunt, Vivat rex in aeternum.*

The phrase ‘peracta consecratione unxerunt’ is explained by the title (‘Consecratio regis’) of the prayer after which in the Claudius MS the anointing takes place. It is noteworthy that both in Claud. and in *Vit. Osw.* ‘laeti’ is omitted after ‘accedentes’ in the anthem. It is omitted also in the Benedictional of Abp Robert, but not in Ratoldus or any of the other Orders.

(4) For the remainder of the service the *Vita Oswaldi* is in agreement with both Ratoldus and the Claudius MS; it runs as follows:—

Post unctionem dedit ei archiepiscopus annulum, dehinc cinxit eum gladio, et post haec dedit coronam in capite et benedictionem; contulit ipsi et sceptrum atque virgam: quae omnia complevit praefatus episcopus et missam peregit, et diem solemnem fecerunt.

It is important at this point to enlarge upon what has been said above, that the Order of Abp Robert’s Benedictional represents a recension intermediate between Ratoldus on the one hand and Claudius and the rest on the other hand. Fortunately we have an excellent edition of Abp Robert’s book by Mr Wilson in the Henry Bradshaw Society’s publications. His Introduction gives a valuable account of the allied MSS which contain the Coronation Order. Mr Wilson suggests with great probability that this Benedictional was written at Winchester between 980 and 990, and may have been given to her brother Robert of Normandy, archbishop of Rouen (990–1037), by Queen Emma, the widow of King Ethelred, who was afterwards married to King Canute. Accordingly the Order which it has embodied might have been drawn up for Edgar, Edward, or Ethelred.

In its general scheme this Order agrees, as against Ratoldus, with Claudius and the rest: as, for example, in not giving ‘A vobis perdonari petimus’, but placing at the outset ‘Haec tria . . . promitto’, a modified form of the ‘Rectitudo regis’, which in Leofric, ‘Egbert’, and Ratoldus came at the end of the service. The wording of its rubrics indeed is to a considerable extent peculiar to itself, but the sense is almost always the same as in Claudius and the others. On the other hand, the triple ‘Vivat rex’, which is ordered at the close of Ratoldus, appears

here as an anthem before 'Sta et retine': it has disappeared from the other forms, but reappears (after 'Sta et retine') in C.C.C.C. 44, which has many quite peculiar variations. Like Ratoldus, Abp Robert's book gives no special prayers for the mass at the end. What is more significant is that it goes with Ratoldus against all the rest in retaining the third person in the formula 'In diebus eius' as in the Leofric and 'Egbert' Orders: the other MSS change this to 'In diebus tuis', and make several consequential alterations. Other points of agreement with Ratoldus against the rest are: 'Et (for 'hic') totius regni' in the 'Consecratio regis'; 'conecti' (for 'conectere') in 'Accipe anulum'; 'terrae' (for 'Britanniae') and 'semper' (for 'super') in 'Omnium, domine'; and, in accordance with 'Egbert' also, 'Benedic, domine, hunc presulem (for 'praelectum') regem.'

It will, therefore, hardly be disputed that the Order found in Abp Robert's Benedictional offers us a transitional recension between Ratoldus and the group to which Claudius A. iii belongs. Within this group the Douay Pontifical and (apart from its peculiarities) C.C.C.C. 44 have special points of agreement with Claudius A. iii; while C.C.C.C. 146 and the so-called Pontifical of St Dunstan shew greater affinity to Abp Robert's book: but the points of agreement and difference are minute in comparison with the variants which distinguish the whole of this group from the Order of that Benedictional.¹

If now it be granted that Robert is an earlier recension than Claudius, standing as it does in a closer relation to Ratoldus, the question may properly be raised whether Robert and not Claudius gives us the recension which the biographer of Oswald made use of. Both Robert and Claudius omit 'laeti' from the anthem 'Unxerunt Salomonem', and the omission is not found in any other MS. The anthem 'Firmetur manus' is given in the *Vita Oswaldi* in full, just as it is found in Robert, whereas Claudius gives only the opening words. But, on the other hand, the biographer followed Claudius in writing 'Te deum laudamus, Te dominum confitemur', whereas Robert has no more than 'Te deum laudamus': and we may reasonably suggest that the citation of the second clause was not very likely to have been made, if the writer had no more than the first clause before him in the MS which he was using; whereas the anthem 'Firmetur manus' would almost necessarily be written out in full by an author who was giving the description of a ceremony, and not writing a liturgical book in which a cue might suffice. Moreover, the words 'ut supra' in Claudius imply that earlier in the book the anthem was given in full. C.C.C.C. 44 is the only MS which does not give it in full, and it has the same 'ut

¹ This comparison has been greatly aided by the full record of variants given by Dr J. Wickham Legg in his 'Three Coronations Orders', H. B. S. 1900.

supra', which suggests that the writer actually used the Claudius MS. It is most probable that the tenth-century original of Claudius had the anthem in full. One other small point may be thrown into the scale. Robert, in introducing the king's promise, says: 'Haec triplicia iura se servaturum promittat'; Claudius, as we have seen above, has: 'Haec tria se servaturum iura promittat.' Oswald's biographer, fond as he is of elaborate expressions, has 'tria' and not 'triplicia'. The balance therefore inclines on the side of Claudius; and indeed we might expect that the later of the two forms would more probably have been available to the biographer at the time at which he was writing.

Thus far I hope that I have been able to shew (1) that the biographer of St Oswald drew his account of the details of the Bath Coronation from a MS more nearly akin to Claudius A. iii than any other which is extant; (2) that the sequence of these later tenth-century orders is: Ratoldus, Robert, Claudius.

We have next to consider the historical bearing of this somewhat tedious enquiry. The coronation of King Edgar at Bath in 973 has been a problem to historians since the beginning of the twelfth century. Was his coronation deferred, as some of the old writers maintained, as a penance imposed by St Dunstan for a grievous breach of morality? Or was it repeated, as the moderns suggest, in order to mark the almost imperial position to which he had attained? If we cannot hope to throw fresh light on the main problem, we may at least release it from the complication introduced in recent years by the publication of that fascinating book, the anonymous *Vita Oswaldi*. Bishop Stubbs, who called attention to it five years before it appeared in print, wrote thus in 1874: 'As it gives at length the Promissio Regis, as taken on the occasion, it is clear that it was not a mere crown-wearing festival.'¹ Quite possibly it was not: but the evidence must now be sought from some other source than this.

The biographer of St Oswald was a Ramsey monk, who seems to have written about the year 1003; for he quotes the earliest Life of St Dunstan, which is to be dated c. 1000; and he refers to Archbishop Ælfric (+ 1005) in terms which suggest that he was still living. That is to say, his description of the Bath Coronation was written thirty years after the event; and our investigation has shewn that he drew it from a Coronation Order which might quite as well be that of Edward or Ethelred as that of Edgar. His source of information as to the event itself may have been exactly the same as ours to-day, viz. the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. Now A (the Winchester Chronicle) is not a very satisfactory witness for the period in question. The entries from

¹ *Mem. of St Dunstan* (Rolls Series) p. ci.

969 to 1001 are made by a hand which is dated *c.* 1000.¹ It has here, however, the confirmation of B and C, which give the same entry, though under the year 974. The most that the chronicler can give us is a ballad which says that at Pentecost, 973, Edgar was 'hallowed to king' (*to cyninge gehalgod*), with a great company of priests and monks in attendance, 'as I have been told' (*mine gefrege*). The later Chronicles (D, E, F) have a common entry to the same effect in prose, which not improbably is based on the poem. Curiously enough, this entry says that 'Edgar *etheling* was hallowed to king', although 'Edgar the king' has been constantly spoken of before.² There is more than one error of calculation in the entry, and it cannot safely be regarded as of independent value; but the statement which follows it, that 'soon after' six kings came to Edgar at Chester and swore fealty to him, bears out the belief that the ceremony at Bath was more than 'a mere crown-wearing festival', and possibly had some sort of imperial significance.³

Having cleared out of our way the confusion momentarily introduced by the narrative in the *Vita Oswaldi*, our next step must be to enquire into the origin and mutual relations of the Coronation Orders found in three tenth-century MSS, the Leofric Missal, the Pseudo-Egbertine Pontifical, and the *Pontificale Lanaletense*.⁴

II

The earliest Order of Coronation known to us is that used by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, when Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald was married to Ethelwulf king of Wessex, and at the same

¹ Plummer *Two Saxon Chronicles* ii p. xxvii, n. 2.

² The word 'etheling' may have been unconsciously repeated from the brief entry immediately preceding, viz. '970. Her forðferde Eadmund æþeling'.

³ When the implications of the word 'gehalgod' are enquired into, account must be taken of two passages in the A. S. Chronicles: (1) A tells us that Pope Leo 'hallowed to king' the boy Alfred at Rome in 853, whereas the Pope's letter gives a different impression from that of a royal consecration or coronation; (2) under 978 E says: 'This year was K. Edward martyred, and Æthelred Etheling his brother came to the throne; and in that same year was he hallowed to king.' Then under 979 he says: 'This year was Æthelred hallowed to king on the Sunday fortnight after Easter at Kingston; and there were at his hallowing two archbishops and ten suffragan bishops.' Unless we suppose the writer to have been extraordinarily careless, this must mean that a more solemn coronation supplemented the hurried ceremony of the previous year; but we may doubt whether the repetition of the term 'hallowed to king' necessarily implies more than one ceremony of unction.

⁴ This is an English Pontifical which came into the hands of a bishop of Alet in Brittany: it is now at Rouen (MS A. 27). We are promised an edition of it by Mr H. A. Wilson for the Henry Bradshaw Society. The Coronation Order is printed from it by Mr Leopold Wickham Legg in *English Coronation Records* (1901).

time anointed and crowned, on October 1, 856. It was published by Sirmondi in 1623 from a MS of St Laurence of Liège (no longer extant), and reprinted among his works, vol. iii, col. 395 ff (Paris, 1696).¹

The Coronation Prayers begin with '*Benedictio Reginae*'. *Te invocamus*', which corresponds very closely with the first of the Coronation Prayers in Leofric, Ps-Egbert, and *Lanaletense*. This is followed by '*Sursum corda*' (as a rubric): 'Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aeternae deus, electorum fortitudo,' which for some twelve lines is identical with the prayer after anointing in Leofric, &c.: 'Deus electorum fortitudo.' It then goes on to speak of the anointing of Judith and of Esther, and returns to the language of the Leofric prayer ('ut per huius creaturae pinguedinem'), though after this it shews considerable divergence of phraseology. Next we have '*Coronatio*. Gloria et honore coronet te dominus', a form not known elsewhere. Then '*Benedictiones*. Benedic, domine, hanc famulam tuam, qui regna regum a saeculo moderaris. Amen. Opera manuum', &c. (six benedictions in all). The first of these corresponds to the first of the sixteen short benedictions after the 'sceptrum' in Leofric, &c.: 'Benedic, domine, hunc presulem principem, qui regna regum omnium a seculo moderaris. Amen.' The next four consist of phrases which with some variations occur in Leofric, &c., in two longer benedictions, of which the first (after the 'baculum') is a combination of Gen. xxvii 28 f with Gen. xlix 25 f, and the second is made up from Deut. xxxiii 11-17, 24, 26. The sixth is really a *Post Communionem*, beginning 'Concede, quaesumus'. This ends the Order.

The impression produced by a collation of the parallel passages is that the whole of the Coronation Service of Judith, with the exception of the brief prayer at the crowning and the Post-Communion at the end, is adapted from an Order closely resembling that found in Leofric &c.² If this be a just conclusion, it is of great importance as shewing that such an Order, for which otherwise we have no documentary evidence earlier than c. 925 (in the Arras region), was current in Rheims before 856.

We may now turn to the Order in the so-called Leofric Missal, and ask what other elements in it find attestation at any period earlier than

¹ Reprinted by Pertz, Mon. Hist. Germ. *Leges* i 450 (Migne *P. L.* cxxxviii 639).

² The Prayer '*Deus electorum fortitudo*' is based on the Preface for the Blessing of Oils in the Mass in *cena domini* (Gr. 55), and the language in the Judith Order diverges somewhat more from that Preface than the language of the Leofric Prayer: moreover, when we come to the final Benedictions, we find that the biblical passages are closely followed by Leofric, &c., whereas in the Judith Order we have only modified excerpts.

the date of its writing, viz. c. 925. It does not contain the forms for the Mass which are found at the beginning and at the end of the Orders in Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense*, but begins:—

1. '*Benedictiones super regem noviter electum.* Te invocamus.' We have found this prayer with but few variations in the Coronation of Queen Judith in 856.
2. '*Alia.* In diebus eius oriatur.' To this we have no earlier testimony.
3. '*Alia.* Deus electorum fortitudo.' (This again is in the Judith Order, but as part of a Preface, and with some variation at the close.
4. '*Benedictio.* Benedic, domine, hunc presulem principem.' This is the first of sixteen brief benedictions. We have seen that it occurs with the necessary modification in the Judith form. It is also to be observed that the first ten of these benedictions are found in an Order printed by Martène (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ii 216) from a MS of the monastery of St Thierry near Rheims, which he regarded as being of the tenth century. The closing prayer has a rubric before it which says that it was used by Pope John [VIII] when he blessed Louis [the Stammerer] at Troyes [in 878]: and it is reasonable to suppose that the four preceding prayers were used on the same occasion. One of them begins 'Benedic, domine, super hunc principem' and contains 1-4 and 6-9 of the Leofric benedictions: another, beginning 'Deus inennarabilis auctor mundi', contains towards the end nos. 5, 10, and 16, followed, as in Leofric, by 'Quod ipse'. Nos. 11-15, therefore, alone remain unattested.
5. '*Item super regem.* Omnipotens deus det tibi.' See on no. 6.
6. '*Alia.* Benedic, domine, fortitudinem principis nostri.' Of this and the previous benediction we have already said that they represent a fuller form, more closely following the Scripture passages, than the parallel benedictions in the Judith Order.
7. '*Tunc dicat omnis populus cum episcopo .iii. vicibus: Vivat rex .ill. in sempiternum. R. Amen. Et confirmabitur cum benedictione omni populo in solio regni: et osculant principes, in sempiternum dicentes Amen, Amen, Amen.*'
8. 'Deus perpetuitatis auctor.' This prayer occurs also as *Oratio super militantes* immediately before the Coronation Order in Leofric.
9. '*Rectitudo regis est noviter ordinati.*' This appears here for the first time.

Thus we see that practically the whole of the Leofric Order (apart from *In diebus eius*, *Deus perpetuitatis* and *Rectitudo regis*) can be traced in the forms used for the coronation of Judith in 856 and of

Louis by the Pope in 878. The Order comes to us in a MS written in the Arras region *c.* 925, and brought to England *c.* 950, shortly after which date it can be shewn to have been at Glastonbury. The Leofric text is often corrupt, and though at many points it is superior to that of Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense* it cannot be regarded as the actual text from which the Order in these two Pontificals is derived.

If, therefore, we are to consider the Leofric Order as wholly continental in its origin—and the evidence so far points that way—we may suppose that another copy of it came to England about the middle of the tenth century, and was made the basis of the texts in Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense*, in which this Order is inserted into the *Missa pro regibus* (Greg. Suppl. 187).

Other points of difference between the Leofric Order and that of the two English Pontificals are: that they prescribe for the anointing the anthem *Unxerunt Salomonem*, followed by the psalm *Domine, in virtute*; and that their rubrics generally are much more explicit. Moreover, in both of them we find the prayer *Deus qui populis* inserted between *Te invocamus* and *In diebus eius*. In Ps-Egbert indeed the prayer is not inserted in full: we have only the words *Deus qui populis* followed by *requiritur* (?) *in capite libri*. Evidently this is an addition, made by a later scribe (in this MS or in that from which it was copied), who had not room for the prayer on the page and so wrote it on a blank space at the beginning of the book; it did not occur to him to insert the rubric '*Alia*' to correspond to the '*Alia*' which introduces the following prayer. The fact that it is an addition is further shewn by the rubric which designates *Deus perpetuitatis* as *orationem septimam*, though as it now stands it is the eighth prayer: *Lanaletense* contains *Deus qui populis* in full, with *Alia* before it, and drops the rubric as to the 'seventh prayer'.

This prayer, *Deus qui populis*, has a curious history. Our examination of the Leofric Order shewed no points of contact with the coronation of Charles the Bald as king of Lorraine by Hincmar of Rheims in 869, or with that of Louis the Stammerer as king of France by the same prelate in 877. But this prayer, which is not in Leofric, takes us back to both these Orders.

We find as an *Oratio In Natali Papae* in the Gregorianum (Gr. 243) the following prayer:—

Deus, qui populis tuis indulgentia consulis et amore dominaris: da spiritum sapientiae quibus dedisti regimen disciplinae; ut de pro-
fectu sanctorum ovium fiant gaudia aeterna pastorum; per.

Now in the first of these two Orders Hincmar adopted this prayer, giving it a new ending appropriate to the occasion. In the second Order he recast it, and included a phrase which had occurred in one of

the brief benedictions of the first Order, namely, *ut tuo munere dirigatur et nostra securitas et devotio Christiana*.¹ Thus :—

869.

Deus, qui populis tuis indulgentia consulis et amore dominaris: da huic famulo tuo spiritum sapientiae, cui dedisti regimen disciplinae; ut tibi toto corde devotus et in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus et in bonis operibus perseverans ad aeternum regnum te duce valeat pervenire; per.

877.

Deus, qui populis tuis *virtute* consulis et amore dominaris: da huic famulo tuo spiritum sapientiae *cum regimine* disciplinae; ut tibi toto corde devotus in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus, *tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiae dirigatur et in tranquillitate devotio Christiana permaneat*; per.

It occurred to some one later to add to the form of 877 the last clause of the form of 869 ('*ut in bonis . . . valeat pervenire*'). But the patching of collects is a perilous proceeding. Even Hincmar, though he greatly improved his form, made 'regimine' come twice in two lines. And the new compiler did not perceive, when he introduced 'valeat' after 'permaneat', that the two verbs had different subjects. In this form the prayer stands in Ratoldus and the other tenth-century Orders, and indeed in the *Liber Regalis* itself. But the compiler of the text found in *Lanaletense* was offended by the blots above mentioned, and gave us the prayer in this form :—

Deus, qui populis tuis *virtute* consulis et amore dominaris: da huic famulo tuo *N.* spiritum sapientiae *cum regimine* disciplinae; ut tibi toto corde devotus in regni *fastigio* maneat semper idoneus, *tuoque* munere ipsius temporibus *securitas ecclesiae dirigatur*, et *sic* in tranquillitate Christiana *devotus ipse* permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans ad aeternum *deinceps* regnum te duce valeat pervenire: per.

He had corrected two faults, but he had himself introduced 'devotus' a second time. He found no followers, and his text remains unique.

Although the Order found in Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense* comes to us in books written in England, yet it contains nothing that marks it off from the shorter Order in Leofric as being distinctively English. Yet the fact that it is found only in English books, together with the fact that so much of it reappears in the great English Order variously represented by Ratoldus, Robert, Claudius, &c., makes it reasonable to suppose that it had been used for some of our English kings. The question accordingly arises whether in fact it is the Leofric form or the Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense* form that is thus made use of in this new

¹ This benediction is itself an adaptation of the Leonian prayer: 'Nostris. quaesumus, domine, propitiare temporibus; ut tuo munere dirigantur et *Romana* securitas et devotio Christiana; per.' (L. 375; cf. Gr. 252 with 'dirigatur').

Order. In other words, does the new Order reproduce any of the peculiarities which distinguish those two texts from the briefer text of Leofric?

1. The insertion of the Coronation Order into the *Missa pro regibus* is not reproduced in the new Order. In Ratoldus a mass is ordered at the end of the service, but its details are not specified. In Robert there is no mass and no order for a mass. In Claudius, &c., there is a mass at the end of the service, but it is the *Missa quotidiana pro rege* (Gr. Suppl. 188).

2. The insertion of *Deus qui populis* between *Te invocamus* and *In diebus eius* is a feature of the new Order; and we have seen that its absence distinguishes Leofric from Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense*. But we have also seen that in Ps-Egbert it has been foisted in as an afterthought, and that in *Lanaletense* it appears in a peculiar form which is a later modification of the form found in Ratoldus and the subsequent texts.

3. The rubrics in Leofric are brief, whereas those found in Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense* are much more explicit. In the wording of the rubrics in Ratoldus there is nothing that points to the longer rather than the shorter rubrics.

4. On the other hand we find in Ratoldus, inserted into the middle of a sentence in the middle of a long consecratory prayer, the direction '*Hic ungatur oleo. An. Unxerunt Salomonem . . . in aeternum*'. There is nothing of the kind in Leofric. Ps-Egbert, however, and *Lanaletense* have an elaborate rubric for the anointing, and not only the anthem but also the psalm *Deus in virtute*. The absence of the psalm may be set against the presence of the anthem. If the compiler of the Ratoldus form took over the anthem from the fuller text, why did he not take over the psalm at the same time?

There is nothing, therefore, in the structure of the Order in Ratoldus &c. which points decisively to Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense* rather than to Leofric. Is there anything in the minor textual variations that will help us to answer our question?

Leofric has a certain number of readings which are unique, and at these points Ratoldus, &c., agree with Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense*. But many, if not all of them, are scribal errors which probably were not found in the sister codex which we may suppose to have been used by the compiler of the Ratoldus form. In the prayer *In diebus eius*, indeed, Leofric has *temporalia bona*, and Ratoldus follows the other two texts in reading *tempora bona*; but, strange to say, *temporalia bona* turns up again in Claudius and the Douay Pontifical. Either reading gives good sense; but probably *temporalia* is the right word, and the change to *tempora* was an easy one which might be made independently by more than one scribe.

On the other hand the following variants suggest a dependence of Ratoldus on a text like that of Leofric.

In diebus eius. finem perfectum] Leo. Rat. : finem perfectam Eg. Lan.

Deus electorum. *Alia* (prefixed)] Leo. Rat. : *om.* Eg. : sequitur oratio Lan.

reges] Leo. Rat. : ac reges Eg. Lan.

Benedic domine. daviticum teneat sublimitatis sceptrum salutis] Leo.* Eg. Lan.

davitica teneat sublimitate sceptrum salutis Leo.^{corr} Rat.

Deus perpetuitatis. eum *bef.* conserva] Leo. Rat. : eum *earlier* Eg. Lan.

We may note that 'sacerdotes, reges et prophetas' (without 'ac' before 'reges') is the reading of the Judith Order, as it is of the Gregorian Preface on which the prayer is founded. The reading 'davitica . . . sublimitate' is a change introduced to improve the sense, which had been marred by the addition of 'salutis', which is not in the Order for Louis in 878. As the correction in Leofric may have been made by a later hand from Ratoldus or a subsequent text, we cannot found an argument upon it.

On the whole, the evidence seems to confirm the view that the compiler of the Ratoldus form used a text akin to the Leofric text rather than to that represented in Ps-Egbert and *Lanaletense*.

We are now free to consider systematically the method of construction of the great English Order of the tenth century. Unlike its predecessors, it is distinctly and unmistakeably English, and we need not hesitate to ascribe it to the hand of the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of the century, Archbishop Dunstan, who crowned Edgar (once, if not twice) and his sons Edward and Ethelred. We have seen that already in that century it appears in three well-marked stages of development represented (1) by Ratoldus, (2) by Robert, and (3) by Claudius and the allied texts. Our immediate task is to enquire what materials Dunstan had before him and what use he made of them in constructing the new Order as we find it in its earliest stage, i. e. in Ratoldus.

We may say at once that he embodied in his new Order the whole of the Order found in Leofric, with the exception of some of the benedictions at the end. He also embodied (again with the exception of a few of the benedictions) the whole of the Order drawn up by Hincmar for the coronation of Louis the Stammerer in 877, together with three out of the five prayers used at the benediction of the same king by the Pope in 878. Other formulae were drawn in from various sources, and the whole of this foreign material was impressed with the stamp of Englishry. The work needed polishing, and received it in two succes-

sive recensions, both of which fall within Dunstan's period. The result was an Order splendid and dignified, typical of the new England which Dunstan did so much to create, especially in its power of claiming and remoulding to national uses the better elements of continental progress. It quickly passed back to France, where it formed the basis of the Coronation Orders of the French kings for many centuries; and its influence can be traced also in the Orders used in Germany and in Italy.

The accompanying table will shew at a glance the sources of the new Order, so far as they can be traced with certainty in older documents. To some extent they may have been brought into combination before Dunstan's time, though at present we have no evidence to prove it.

ORDER IN RATOLDUS.	SOURCES.
1. <i>Election.</i> A vobis perdonari Promitto vobis	} Louis, 877
2. <i>Consent of people.</i> Te Deum	Charles the Bald, 869
3. Te invocamus	Leofric
4. Deus qui populis	Louis, 877 (Charles, 869)
5. In diebus eius	Leofric
6. Omnipotens sempiterne	Louis, 877
7. Deus electorum	Leofric
8. Deus dei filius	
9. Accipe anulum	
10. Deus cuius est	Louis, 878
11. Accipe hunc gladium	
12. Deus qui providentia	(G. 729, Gr. 202)
13. Coronet te	Louis, 877
14. Deus perpetuitatis	Leofric
15. Accipe sceptrum	Louis, 877
16. Omnium domine	Louis, 878
17. Accipe virgam	
18. Extendat omnipotens	
Et tribuat	
Angelos suos	
Inimicos tuos	} Louis, 877
Victoriosum	
Et qui te voluit	
19. Benedic domine	
Et tali eum	} Leofric
Da ei a tuo	
20. Sta et retine	
21. Rectitudo regis	Leofric
22. <i>Et tunc deosculatur</i>	
Tribus vicibus Vivat rex	} Leofric
23. <i>Missa</i>	
24. <i>Post pergant ad mensam</i>	

We are left with five formulae still untraced: *Deus dei filius*, *Accipe*

*anulum, Accipe hunc gladium, Accipe virgam, Sta et retine.*¹ They appear in later compilations, such as Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus*: but there seems to be no reason for connecting them with Rome, and some at least of them may have been borrowed from this English Order. The opening phrase *Deus dei filius* is not found in collects of the Roman Sacramentaries; it occurs frequently in Mozarabic books.²

It is not necessary for the purpose of this paper, which is primarily historical, to examine the modifications introduced by Dunstan into the various prayers indicated in the second column of our table. Two points only must be dealt with.

1. In the benediction *Extendat* the clause *sanctae Mariae et omnium sanctorum intercedentibus meritis* is amplified by the insertion of the words *ac beati Petri apostolorum principis sanctique Gregorii Ang[e]lorum apostolici*.

2. A far bolder step in the nationalization of the service was taken by the insertion into the Consecratory Prayer of a passage which nearly doubled its length. This prayer, an unusually long one already, was written by Archbishop Hincmar for the coronation of Louis the Stammerer in 877. The central part of it embodies the form which he had used in anointing Charles the Bald in 869. But on that occasion it was introduced by the inappropriate words *Coronet te dominus corona gloriæ*, which were repeated as the opening of a benediction at the crowning immediately afterwards. The change was a good one, and the result was the dignified prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, creator, &c.*, which was taken over into the Order in Ratoldus, and thereafter had a long and strange history. In the Ratoldus Order the prayer is cut in two in the sentence *et hunc famulum tuum virtutibus, quibus præfatos fideles decorasti*. The passage inserted at this point is the first demonstrably English element that meets us in the Coronation Orders, and its language deserves the attention of our historians. It is here given in full, the insertion being indicated in brackets.

Respice propitius ad preces nostrae humilitatis, et [super] hunc famulum tuum [quem supplici devotione in regnum *N. Albionis totius videlicet Francorum* pariter eligimus, benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eumque dextera tuæ potentiae semper ubique circumda: quatenus prædicti Abrahæ fidelitate firmatus, Moysi mansuetudine fretus, Iosue fortitudine munitus, David humilitate exaltatus, Salomonis sapientia decoratus, tibi in omnibus complaceat, et per trami-

¹ The words *Sta et retine amodo statum quem hucusque paterna suggestionem tenuisti, hæreditario iure tibi delegatum per, &c.*, raise interesting historical questions. Can *hucusque* allude to Edgar's delayed coronation? Or were the words borrowed from abroad? And what, in any case, does *paterna suggestionem* signify? In later times *suggestionem* was altered into *successione*.

² See the index to Dom Férotin's *Liber Mozarabicus Ordinum*.

tem iustitiae inoffenso gressu semper incedat ; et *totius Albionis ecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis* ita enutriet ac doceat, muniat et instruat, contraque omnes visibiles et invisibiles hostes idem potenter regaliterque tuae virtutis regimine amministret, ut *regale solium videlicet Francorum sceptrum non deserat*, sed ad pristinae fidei pacisque concordiam eorum animos te opitulante reformet ; ut utrorumque horum populorum debita subiectione fultus, condigno amore glorificatus, per longum vitae spatium paternae apicem gloriae tua miseratione unatim stabilire et gubernare mereatur ; tuae quoque protectionis galea munitus, et scuto insuperabili iugiter protectus, armisque coelestibus circumdatus, optabilis victoriae triumphum de hostibus feliciter capiat, terroremque suae potentiae infidelibus inferat, et pacem tibi militantibus laetanter reportet :] virtutibus [necnon] quibus praefatos fideles tuos decorasti multiplici honoris benedictione condecora, . . .

Our first business is to reconstruct the form which lies behind the Ratoldus text of this passage and the text found in the Rheims (or Cambray) Pontifical to which reference has been made above. In both texts an unsuccessful attempt has been made to correct the prayer for use at a French coronation. The attempt in Ratoldus at the three points in question is before us : at the third point only has it been such as to obliterate the original phrase, which has been displaced by the words *videlicet Francorum sceptrum*.

Happily the Rheims Pontifical comes to our rescue. It omits *Albionis totius* leaving *regnum* by itself : then it substitutes *totius regni* for *totius Albionis* : but, where Ratoldus has *videlicet Francorum sceptrum*, it gives *videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanhumbriorumque sceptrum*, which is plainly what we want.¹

We may be confident that we have thus recovered the text of the English Order which was brought to the Corbey-Arras-Cambray district in the time of Abbot Ratoldus († 986), and was the parent of the two texts which we have been examining.

Now the language of the passage thus inserted into the Consecratory Prayer implies a recent breach of concord and a division of allegiance between two peoples, and it is even hinted that the king had been to blame. The prayer is that the newly anointed king 'may so nourish and teach, defend and instruct the Church of all Albion henceforward with the folks to him united . . . that he desert not the royal throne, to wit the sceptres of the Saxons, Mercians and Northumbrians, but by thy assistance may refashion their minds to the concord of their

¹ This clause, which specifies the Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians, survived in the Coronation of French kings as late as 1364 : see *The Coronation Book of Charles V of France*, edited for the H. Bradshaw Society by Mr Dewick in 1899.

former faith and peace; that, supported by the due subjection of both peoples and honoured with fitting love, through the course of a long life he may be allowed by thy mercy to stablish in unity and to govern the eminence of his father's [*or* his ancestral] glory . . .'

This language exactly fits the circumstances of King Edgar's accession after the failure of his brother Edwy to hold the kingdoms north and south of the Thames together under one crown. It suggests a failure to work with the ecclesiastical authorities, and a desertion of the royal throne by allowing the division of the kingdoms.¹

A difficulty suggests itself that the words, which at the outset of King Edgar's reign would be so appropriate, would hardly have been written for his coronation at Bath after fourteen years of rule. But we do not know that he had not been crowned before, when the kingdoms were reunited after Edwy's death.

It is the Bath Coronation that still defies all efforts to explain it. The grandeur of Dunstan's new Order, and the labour expended on its construction, tally well enough with the late date of the coronation and with its exceptional magnificence. It may be that Edgar was anointed and crowned as king of the Mercians, and that no necessity was felt for a repetition of the ceremony when he succeeded naturally to the other half of his father's realm on Edwy's death. If so, we can understand that Dunstan might desire in the heyday of Edgar's glory, by a ceremony such as England had never witnessed before, in the border-city of the ancient kingdoms of the Mercians and West Saxons, to seal the recovered unity of 'all Albion' which, as a fact of history, has never been broken since that day.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

¹ If we are right in the supposition that the Order in Ratoldus was composed for the coronation of Edgar, then the two later recensions, Robert and Claudius, may have been made for Edward and Ethelred respectively.

ITORIA.

NOTE SUR LE TRAITÉ D'OPTAT I, I.

Le dernier éditeur du traité de saint Optat contre les Donatistes, C. Ziwsa,¹ nous fait lire ainsi le début de l'ouvrage²:

Cunctos nos christianos, carissimi fratres, omnipotenti deo fides una commendat, cuius fidei pars est credere filium dei dominum iudicem saeculi esse uenturum, eum qui iam pridem uenerit et secundum hominem suum per Mariam uirginem natus sit, passus
5 et mortuus et sepultus resurrexerit; et antequam in caelum ascenderet, unde descenderat, christianis nobis omnibus storiam per apostolos pacem dereliquit. Quam ne uideretur solis apostolis dimisisse, ideo ait: Quod uni ex uobis dico, omnibus dico. Deinde ait: Pacem meam do uobis, pa-
10 cem meam relinquo uobis. Igitur pax christianis omnibus data est, quam rem dei esse constat, dum dicit: meam; cum autem dicit: do uobis, non solum suam uoluit esse, sed et uniuersorum in se credentium.³

Cet éloge de la paix qu'introduit une allusion au symbole de foi n'a pas besoin d'être commenté. Le sens général est assez clair, et l'on

¹ *S. Optati Mileuitani libri vii*. Recensuit et commentario critico indicibusque instruxit CAROLUS ZIWSA, Vindobonae MDCCCLXXXIII (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. xxvi).

² *Op. cit.* p. 3 : à savoir tout le premier paragraphe.

³ Les deux citations de l'Évangile (l. 8-9 et l. 9-10) sont : Marc. xiii 37 et loh. xiv 27. On remarquera que la forme de la première se rapproche sensiblement de la teneur de *k* : Quod autem uni dixi, omnibus uobis dico, tandis que la Vulgate suit exactement le grec : Quod autem uobis dico, omnibus dico : uigilate (de même s. Augustin *Ep.* cxcix 1, n. 3). Optat a renoncé à l'ancien *omnibus uobis*, qui peut être conforme au modèle grec de la vieille version von Soden cite un manuscrit de sa classe *l*) ; mais il a maintenu *uni*, qu'il combine avec *nobis* : *uni ex uobis*, pour *ὁ μὶν* ; et surtout il persiste à ignorer *uigilate*. Cette curieuse omission de la version africaine, que von Soden, appliquant des principes rigides, n'a pas relevée, pourrait fort bien, elle aussi, provenir du document grec foncier, bien qu'on n'en trouve pas d'autre exemple ; en tout cas, elle explique exactement, et dans une certaine mesure elle justifie, l'emploi que fait notre auteur, dans la circonstance, du texte de s. Marc. L'autre citation présente une transposition qu'on retrouve dans deux témoins européens, *b* et *q* : *do . . . relinquo* (au lieu de *relinquo . . . do*) = *ἀφίημι . . . δίδωμι* ; en outre dans le premier membre, l'addition *meam*, offerte en effet par l'africain *e*, ainsi que par *a*, *ff*² et plusieurs manuscrits de la Vulgate.

entrevoit tout de suite la portée de l'argument : la paix est un legs du Fils de Dieu, le don suprême qu'il a fait à ses apôtres avant de remonter au ciel, et par ses apôtres à tous les chrétiens ; ceux donc qui la compromettent, c'est-à-dire proprement les schismatiques, sont condamnés d'avance et sans appel. Telle est sans aucun doute la pensée de saint Optat. Néanmoins plusieurs détails de la rédaction restent incertains, la tradition n'étant guère satisfaisante au total. Je les ai indiqués par l'italique ; je n'en retiendrai ici qu'un seul : le mot *storiām* à la sixième ligne, qui fait réellement difficulté.¹

Ziwsa ne doute pas que *storiām* ne soit la vraie leçon ; nous verrons tout à l'heure comment il raisonne. Les premières éditions (*princeps* 1549, *Balduina* 1569²) portaient : *suam* ; celle de Dupin (1700), que Migne a reproduite,³ propose : *uictricem*. Le simple rapprochement de variantes aussi dissemblables : *suam*, *uictricem*, *storiām*, présentées tour à tour comme authentiques, invite le lecteur à sourire, sinon à faire peu de cas des petites opérations philologiques. Mais il est équitable de faire remarquer, aussitôt, que les éditeurs n'ont rien inventé dans le présent : chacune des trois variantes concurrentes est fournie par la tradition médiévale. Laissons donc la philologie en paix, et cherchons à sortir de l'impasse ; car, il faut bien l'avouer, *storiām* ne vaut guère mieux que *uictricem* ni que *suam*.

Suam, donné par le manuscrit de Cues du xvm^e siècle qu'a employé

¹ Les autres leçons plus ou moins suspectes sont, comme on peut voir : l. 3, *dominium*, qui est bien le terme attendu, mais n'est en fait soutenu que par un manuscrit secondaire (G) ; P, notre meilleur manuscrit et le chef de la famille PG, porte *deum*, et son témoignage est corroboré par celui de l'autre groupe RB ; à moins donc que *deum* ne soit une faute primaire, il a chance d'être la vraie leçon, si peu naturel qu'il nous semble ;—l. 5, *et* entre *mortuus* et *sepultus* : le cas est tout à fait le même ; *et* n'est encore appuyé que par G ; les règles de la critique textuelle postulent l'omission ; G aura précisément ajouté ce *et* pour rendre la phrase plus coulante en même temps que plus semblable au *textus receptus* du symbole des Apôtres ; si l'on supprime *et*, *sepultus* se rattache grammaticalement à *resurrexerit* ;—l. 6, *nobis* : PB l'omettent, et c'est par égard pour l'excellent témoin qu'est P que l'on doit envisager la possibilité de l'addition ; en effet une retouche inspirée par le *cunctos nos christianos* de la 1^{re} ligne se conçoit ; mais l'accord de G avec R sur *nobis* diminue cette fois considérablement l'autorité de P ; elle ne peut bénéficier en définitive que d'un doute ;—l. 7, *per apostolos pacem* : P et G d'accord donnent l'ordre inverse : *pacem per apostolos* ; leur rédaction est préférable comme à l'ordinaire ; il n'y a pas lieu de penser que le groupe RB ait ici gardé une particularité de la première édition en six livres ; on admettra plutôt que la lecture *storiām* a pu déterminer un changement dans l'ancêtre de R ;—l. 12, *uoluit esse* : P propose seul *esse uoluit* ; c'est à peu près le cas de *nobis* l. 6 ; le texte de GRB est plus probable, sans être cependant certain.

² C'est-à-dire la seconde édition de Baudouin ; la première (1563) dépend entièrement de celle de Cochlaeus.

³ P. L. t. xi, c. 885.

Cochlaeus,¹ peut-être aussi par le *Tilianus* perdu de Baudouin, n'a pas seulement le tort d'être banal, mais celui de contredire presque ouvertement la conclusion du paragraphe² : *Cum autem dicit : do uobis, non solum s u a m uoluit esse, sed et universorum in se credentium*. Comme d'autre part le manuscrit de Cues se rattache au groupe *RB* qui est le garant de *storian*, il y a lieu de croire que *suam* est un expédient imaginé pour évincer le plus aisément possible l'embarrassant *storian*.

Victricem ne peut être également qu'une retouche tardive. Ziwsa en a parlé avec beaucoup de sens, dans une étude spéciale,³ à propos des particularités de *G*.⁴ Cet autre manuscrit du x^v^e siècle,⁵ mis à profit par Dupin, a une très grande importance pour l'établissement du texte de saint Optat : il est le seul témoin complet de ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler—non sans raison—la seconde édition du traité, une édition revue et augmentée à laquelle l'auteur, apparemment, n'avait pu mettre la dernière main, et qui commença de se répandre, plus ou moins supplémentée,⁶ vers 385.⁷ Malheureusement, il n'est pas un témoin sûr. Nous pouvons le contrôler d'une manière certaine : pour les livres I et II, par le beau manuscrit oncial de Pétrougrade (*P*) ; pour le v^{me} livre, par le manuscrit du x^{ime} siècle (*C*)⁸ où s'est conservé le célèbre dossier sur le donatisme ; pour le vi^{me} livre, par ce même manuscrit *C*, puis par les manuscrits déjà nommés (*RB*) de l'édition en six livres, l'archétype du groupe ayant admis, sous forme d'addition, le

¹ Cf. J. Marx *Verzeichniss der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues*, 1905, no. 50, fol. 3-62. Ziwsa s'en est tenu au texte de Cochlée, n'ayant pu atteindre le volume ni même le désigner. Une collation précise du *Cusanus* est donc désirable ; cependant le jugement que porte Ziwsa (*op. cit.* p. xl) doit être correct. Une particularité de ce manuscrit est qu'il omet le septième livre ; on pourrait donc supposer qu'il est un témoin pur de la première édition en six livres à dater exactement des années 366-367 ; voir là-dessus P. Monceaux *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1913, pp. 450-453). J'incline à croire que cette omission du septième livre n'existait pas dans l'archétype du *Cusanus*, et qu'il n'y a pas lieu de faire une place à part à ce manuscrit dans le groupe *RB*.

² Dupin a déjà fait cette remarque : *P. L.* 886 (fin de la note *g*).

³ *Beiträge zu Optatus Mileuitanus*, dans *Erano Vindobonensis*, 1893, pp. 168-176.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 170.

⁵ *Paris. lat.* 13365, anciennement à Saint-Germain-des-Près.

⁶ Il faut en effet tenir compte de plusieurs morceaux du septième livre, de deux surtout, considérables (ed. Ziwsa, p. 159, 16-163, 26 et p. 165, 2-167, 33), que Baudouin avait trouvés dans son *Tilianus* et dont il n'y a pas trace ailleurs ; sur ces passages, sûrement authentiques, voir Ziwsa *Praefatio* de l'édition de Vienne pp. xxx-xxxiii.

⁷ Cf. Monceaux, l. c. ; et d'autre part, Bardenhewer *Patrologie*, 1910, p. 370 ; mais dans la *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, t. lii, 1912, p. 493, il émet, si j'entends bien, une opinion quelque peu différente.

⁸ *Paris. lat.* 1711 ; du monastère de Cormery il était passé entre les mains de Colbert.

'livre supplémentaire de la révision.¹ Or les leçons de *G* sont fréquemment et manifestement fautives, en regard des données parallèles ; elles se présentent alors, habituellement, comme des retouches intentionnelles. Tel est bien le cas de *uictricem*. Le vieux manuscrit *P*, qui donne *historiam* (*itoriam*), suffit à enlever à cette variante de *G* la moindre apparence d'authenticité. Ziwsa suppose qu'elle procède d'une correction antérieure *uictoriam*. Il est plus simple de penser qu'un scribe soucieux de transcrire une phrase intelligible a imaginé d'un seul coup cet expédient facile.

Storiam a l'appui des témoins de la première édition (*RB*)² et, apparemment, celui de *P*. Ziwsa n'a pas hésité à retenir cette étrange graphie, à laquelle il croit donner un sens acceptable en faisant siennes diverses remarques de Dombart sur un passage difficile de Commodien.³ *Storia*—ou plutôt *storea*—est attesté dans la langue classique par César,⁴ Tite-Live,⁵ et Pline,⁶ avec le sens technique de natte, tresse, couverture.⁷ Commodien paraît employer le même terme au figuré : défense, protection, armure spirituelle.⁸ Optat aurait voulu dire semblablement que le Christ avait laissé sa paix aux hommes comme leur

¹ Le début du VII^{me} livre (nos. 1-2) est également donné par un précieux fragment de Fleury (Orléans 169, fol. 4-6). Pour le *Tilianus*, voir ci-dessus, p. 75, n. 6.

² Reims 221 (de Saint-Thierry), IX^{me} siècle ; *Paris. lat. 1712* (*Baluzianus*), XIV^{me} siècle. Ziwsa a d'ailleurs montré par de bonnes raisons, dans les prolegomènes de son édition, que *B* devait n'être qu'une copie de *R* : *op. cit.* pp. xxxvii-xxxix, et cf. *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 168.

³ *S. Optati Mileuitani libri vii* p. 3 et p. 320 ; *Eranos Vindobonensis* p. 170. Cf. B. Dombart *Archiv für lat. Lexicographie und Grammatik* t. iii, 1886, pp. 146-147.

⁴ *De bello ciuili* ii 9. 4.

⁵ xxx. c. 3. 9.

⁶ xv. c. 16 (18).

⁷ Cf. *sternere, stratum, stramentum*. Les langues romanes ont d'ailleurs gardé le mot lui-même : *stoja, estera, store*.

⁸ *Carmen Apologeticum*, 149-152. Voici le morceau d'après l'unique manuscrit Phillippus (*Mediomontanus*) :

Hic (Deus) fecerat primum hominem ut esset aeternus,
Sed ruit in mortem neglectis ille praeceptis.
Propter quæstorias tantas deus esse parauit,
Vt inuentiones diabuli detergeret omnes.

Il y a ici, semble-t-il, une allusion directe à Ephes. vi 11 : 'Induite uos *armaturam dei*, ut possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli' ; et, secondairement, une autre référence à Gen. iii 21 : 'Fecit quoque dominus deus Adæ et uxori eius *tunicas pelliceas* et induit eos.' Pitra, le premier éditeur, a proposé de lire : *quæ storias*, et de corriger de même *Apol.* 870 et *Instr.* 1215, où la tradition donne : *historia, historiis*. Quoi qu'il en soit de ces derniers passages également difficiles (cf. Dombart *ibid.* p. 233, sur *historia* au sens de mascarade,—je lirais volontiers *itoria* = fête d'adieu dans *Apol.* 870), le texte d'*Apol.* 149 sqq. a fait l'objet d'assez nombreuses conjectures ; on admet généralement qu'il faut commencer par rétablir, avec Pitra, *quæstorias* (*quæ storias*). Dombart estime cette opération suffisante et pourrait bien avoir raison.

plus sûr moyen de défense : *storiā*. Il est possible, en effet, que Commodien, écrivain obscur et prétentieux, ait donné à *storia* (*storea*) l'acception d'armure spirituelle pour mettre en vers le célèbre texte de saint Paul. Notre passage d'Optat n'en est pas beaucoup plus clair. Il est du reste superflu de discuter longtemps l'explication de Ziwsa, la bonne leçon étant fournie par *P*, dès que l'on y prend garde.

Le manuscrit de Pétrougrade,¹ que Ziwsa lui-même a tiré de l'oubli, ne présente *historiam* que par suite d'une correction secondaire. Le copiste du vi^me siècle a bel et bien écrit : *itoriam*, et dans ce contexte : *christianis (nobis) omnibus itoriam pacem per apostolos dereliquit*.² Bien que rare—plus rare sans doute que son congénère *transitorius*, *-oria*,—ce dérivé du verbe *ire* est de bonne frappe.³ Peut-être n'a-t-il jamais été employé qu'en Afrique. On en a rappelé dès avant la publication du texte de Ziwsa un exemple très caractéristique, et qui permet de donner au passage de saint Optat son juste commentaire.⁴

Dans un sermon sur l'Ascension, conservé dans deux manuscrits liturgiques de Silos, un auteur africain du v^me siècle, développant le texte des Actes i 6-8, s'exprime ainsi :

Ascensionem domini celebramus, fratres carissimi . . .

Pertinet ad curam nostram commendari caritati uestrae quod nobis ipse commendare dignatus est . . .

Quid ergo nobis commendauerit attendite. Loquebatur cum discipulis suis ascensurus. Videamus qualia illis reliquit, sicut dici solet, *itoria*.

Humanæ conditionis est quod dico, ut, quando ab amicis amici deducuntur, quando ille qui deducitur discedere coeperit, quia necesse est ut relinquat in animo diligentium se nonnullam tristitiam, dat eis aliquid pecuniae unde illis eadem dies, sicut dicitur, bene sit, id est unde conuiuent simul, laetentur et iucundentur. Et haec quantulumcumque pecunia quae datur hilari nomine itoria nuncupatur.

Quid dimisit dominus Iesus discipulis suis, eia attendite, quia *itoria* illa non solum inebriauit, sed ad nos usque manebit.

Audite quid illi uolebant scire, et quid ipse respondit.

Iam ergo cum *iturus* est, discipuli ad illum dicunt : 'Domine, dic nobis si hoc tempore praesentaberis, quando restitues regnum Israel?'

¹ Cod. Q. v 1. 2, no. 3 (anciennement Saint-Germain 718, provenant de Réomé—non pas de Corbie), fol. 243-276. Cf. A. Staerk *Les Manuscrits latins du v^me au xiii^me siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1910, pp. 3-5 (no. 3), et facs. 4 (fol. 257 r., à dater du vi-viii^me s.); d'autre part, Ziwsa *S. Optati* . . . p. xiv-xvii, xxxiii-xxxvi, xli, et *Eranos* p. 168 ss.

² Voir ci-dessus, p. 74, note 1.

³ Cf. H. Roensch *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, 1877, pp. 413-416, et de nouveau *Colledanea philologica*, 1891, p. 196-199 : sur les féminins de la langue chrétienne en *-aria* et *-oria*.

⁴ G. Morin *Revue Bénédictine* t. ix, 1892, pp. 173-177 ; et cf. *ibid.* t. xxix, 1912, p. 253 ss.

Quid est quod respondit?—'Non est uestrum scire tempora'... Quid est ergo uestrum quaerere, o domini? Audite: 'Et accipietis spiritum sanctum superuenientem in uobis'... Et quid? 'Eritis mihi testes.' Ubi erit ille spiritus, caritas erit: ubi caritas erit, timor non erit... Accepto spiritu sancto periet diffidentia, aderit fiducia. 'Eritis mihi testes in Ierusalem... et in totam Iudaeam et Samariam.' Et adhuc parum est: 'usque in totam terram.' O *itoria*! bibite, ructate! Ecce in Ierusalem, ibi plantata est ecclesia. Inde se extendit et inpleuit Iudaeam; creuit amplius et inpleuit Samariam; distendit palmites et inpleuit universam terram...

Et modo, fratres carissimi, nouissima uerba domini nostri Iesu Christi audiui-mus, ecclesiam catholicam commendantis: 'Eritis mihi testes in Ierusalem et in totam Iudaeam et Samariam'... Totum ecce nobis dimisit, qui totum suo sanguine comparauit: magna est possessio, quia tantum est pretium... Sanguis Christi est pretium possessionis huius: possessio Christi ecclesia est: possessio ecclesiae pax... Pacem dimisit, pax est pretium nostrum, pax est hereditas nostra; non habet lites. Inserite ergo domini nostri Iesu Christi uerba in cordibus uestris, fratres mei, et in his laetemur, gaudeamus, iucundemur. Gratias illi agamus, quia in illa ecclesia nos ui(ui)mus; quam cum uerbis commendasset, ascendit in caelum...¹

De tout ce discours, dont j'ai tenu à garder les lignes principales, il ressort avec évidence qu'*itoria*, substantivé, était employé couramment en Afrique avec le sens particulier de 'pourboire', et qu'appliqué à l'œuvre du Christ le mot désigne, dans la pensée de l'auteur anonyme, les dernières promesses, les dons de Notre-Seigneur à ses disciples; à savoir l'Esprit, la charité, la confiance, l'Église catholique, enfin la paix. De même, mais plus brièvement, saint Optat, argumentant *ad hominem*, rappelle que la paix est le don suprême, le legs, l'adieu du Fils de Dieu à ses disciples, ou, si l'on veut, en tenant compte du sens populaire africain: un cadeau spécial et un viatique.

C'est ce vieux vocable africain *itoria* que les copistes du moyen âge ont méconnu, puis maquillé de leur mieux. Premièrement il a suggéré *historia (istoria)* contre tout bon sens; et le fameux *storia* de Ziwsa n'est en réalité qu'une graphie subsidiaire, probablement espagnole.

Le petit problème qui vient d'être exposé permet de se faire une idée assez exacte de la tradition manuscrite du traité d'Optat. Comme je l'ai marqué, elle n'est pas excellente. Ziwsa en a indiqué d'une manière irréprochable les différents aspects. Il est seulement fâcheux que le texte imprimé pour l'Académie de Vienne ne distingue pas les deux recensions.² Il faudra bien quelque jour qu'on ait le courage d'accomplir cette tâche, si délicate qu'elle se présente.

ANDRÉ WILMART.

¹ Voir l'édition de Morin *loc. cit.* t. xxix, p. 253 ss. l. 1, 16 sq.; l. 48-59; l. 74, 80, 82, 86, 89 ss.; l. 103 ss., 106, 109, 113-117. J'ai corrigé la finale: *uidemus* n'offre aucun sens; *uiuiumus* s'entend.

² Cf. M. Petchenig *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, t. xiv, 1894, pp. 457-463.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PANTHERA.

IN his recent book on the Virgin Birth, Dr G. H. Box refers to the Panthera legend.¹ He quotes the Jewish story in the Toledoth Jesu, which gives the name of the alleged seducer as Joseph Pandira. As the details of the story are well known to scholars, they need not be repeated here. But about the name Panthera there is more to be said than has found its way into works on the subject.

Three explanations are usually given of the name.

Older scholars, such as Bleek and others, regard Panthera as a corruption of *παρθένος*. That does not adequately explain why that particular name was chosen. It is, by itself, a *lucus a non lucendo* etymology.

Other later scholars, such as H. Laible and S. Krauss, see in the name itself an opprobrious moral implication.

Laible thinks that Panthera is formed from panther, and that son of the panther would mean son of sensuality.² The panther was supposed to choose his mate among other kinds of animals. The offspring of the panther and the lioness is the leopard.³ He amalgamates this with the view that Panthera is a corruption of *παρθένος*.

Krauss⁴ derives the name Panthera from *πόρνος*. As only one letter is in the same position in the two words, this explanation is highly improbable.

These three explanations assume that the name was invented for the purpose of the Jewish story.

It has lately, however, been shewn by Dr A. Deissmann that Pantera was a name in common use.⁵ In a monograph on the name Panthera, which seems to have escaped notice in England, he has pointed out that the name is found in many Latin inscriptions of the early empire. Especially is it a surname of Roman soldiers, and this is an interesting point in view of the fact that the Panthera of the legend is supposed to be a Roman soldier. Dr Deissmann gives a number of instances of the name from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL). It will be enough to quote here three of them.

1. CIL xi 1421 (at Pisa A. D. 4) a decurio (cavalry commander) by name L. Otacilius Q. f. *Panthera*.

¹ *Virgin Birth of Jesus* p. 206.

² *Jesus Christus im Talmud*, 2nd ed. 1900.

³ Box *op. cit.* p. 201.

⁴ *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1902.

⁵ *Orientalische Studien T. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen, 1906. Dr Deissmann kindly presented me with a copy.

2. *CIL* xiii 7514 (found at Bingerbrück, now at Kreuznach in Hesse, time of the early empire). 'Tib. Iul. Abdes *Pantera* Sidonia ann. LXII. stipend XXXX miles exs. coh. I sagittariorum h. s. e.'

This inscription was found on an epitaph, and is of the greatest interest. Abdes (an עבד name) shews that he was a Jew, and anyhow he came from Sidon. Tiberius Julius, his cognomen, suggests that he had received the rights of Roman citizenship from the emperor Tiberius. *Panthera*, his surname, may be a military nickname. He had seen forty years' service in the Archers' regiment. Dr Deissmann further informs us that this regiment was transferred A. D. 6 from Syria to Dalmatia, and from Dalmatia A. D. 9 to the Rhine district.

3. *CIL* vii 18: found at Portus Lemanae (Lympne, Kent), mentions 'L. Aufidius *Pantera*, praefectus classis Britannicae', or commander of the British fleet.

It is clear that *Pantera* was a common surname in the first two centuries of the Christian era. What inferences may fairly be drawn from these facts?

The name *Pantera* was probably known in the Roman province of Syria, if Tiberius Julius Abdes *Panthera* was serving in the Archers' regiment. Some Jewish controversialist seized on the name, perhaps because of its similarity to the word *παρθένος*. Then the legend of the Roman soldier grew up and found its way into the Talmud with the purpose of discrediting and vilifying the Christian tradition, as soon as the gospel story became known to the general public.

L. PATTERSON.

1 TIMOTHY iii 16.

I HAVE been much interested in Dr Vernon Bartlet's Note in the last number of the JOURNAL (vol. xviii p. 309) on a Fragment of 1 Timothy, because a MS which once belonged to me has a remarkable reading of 1 Timothy iii 16. I gave this MS to Westminster College, Cambridge, a few years ago; but unhappily in 1914 I borrowed it and lent it with other MSS. to the Exhibition in Leipzig, and I have not seen it since.

It was published by me in 1897 as *Studia Sinaitica*, no. vi, being a Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of some passages from the Pentateuch, Job, Prophets, Proverbs, Acts, and Epistles. I do not wish to give the Syriac text here of 1 Timothy iii 16, but the Greek from which it is translated must have run thus:

Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν [ἡμεῖς] ὡς μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, κτλ.

'Ὁμολογουμένως must have been read, not as one word, but as two words; so that the words following were part of a liturgy or creed recited by the worshipping congregation.

Another instance of this reading in 1 Tim. iii 16 is cited by Tischendorf in D. gr. I shall be glad to know if it has been observed elsewhere.

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

REVISION OF THE LECTIONARY.

Report of Joint Committee, Convocation of Canterbury (S.P.C.K., 1917).

THE present Report was agreed to by resolution of the Upper House on May 2, 1917, and of the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation on the following day. The Joint Committee of Canterbury had also, during their sessions, the counsel and co-operation of a similar joint committee appointed by the Convocation of York. It may, therefore, be assumed that the proposed Lectionary is likely to come into use, perhaps even independently of the general revision of the Book of Common Prayer, as in the case of the last revision of the Lectionary, in 1871. Or again, in accordance with a resolution of the Lower House in 1914 with reference to the proposals of a committee of their own House for revising the Lectionary, the new Table of Lessons may be authorized for experimental use for two years before its final adoption or incorporation in the Prayer Book. In view of the importance of the scriptural lections in Anglican worship, there is much to be said for this experimental stage.

The first Reformed Prayer Book (1549) provided lessons for every day of the civil year in a mechanical way by appointing a chapter a day, beginning in January with Genesis and St Matthew and Romans. Proper lessons were provided, more or less completely, for the greater festivals and holy days, but no special provision was made for Sunday readings. Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book provided a full table of Old Testament lessons for Sundays, but left the New Testament lessons to the accident of the ferial course. The last revision of the Prayer Book (1662) left this Sunday provision almost unchanged, though it recognized the impropriety of continuing the recital of Noah's drunkenness, Lot's incest, and the unswaddled infant lying in its blood (Ezek. xvi). The revisers of the Lectionary in 1871, while making many reasonable alterations in the ferial course, missed their opportunity so far as the Sunday lessons were concerned. They did, indeed, reject a few more

of the 'chapters which be least edifying, and might best be spared' (Preface of 1549): such as the ravishing of Dinah, the vengeance of Phinehas on the man and woman taken in adultery, and the stoning for idolatry. But they retained or even introduced many passages that offend against truth or morality: e.g. the mythological account of the sons of God espousing the daughters of men, the story of Abraham passing Sarah off as his sister, the plagues of Egypt, the destruction of Korah and his company, the dispossession and extermination of the Amorites, Solomon's ivory, apes, and peacocks, and his harem, and the chapters that describe Jehu wading through blood to a throne. The modern conscience is increasingly aware of the distress caused to many hearers by these narratives. The revisers of 1871 shewed themselves little concerned in this matter; nor did they appreciate how the centre of gravity was shifting from the historical books to the prophetical writings. There was, therefore, much leeway for the revisers of 1917 to make up; their proposals, if they come into force, will give much relief, and will bring Church worship into nearer agreement with what has been taught in the universities for a generation or longer. But they might well have been a little bolder, and dispensed with the command to smite Amalek and spare not, the speaking ass, the dishonest 'borrowings' from the Egyptians, Jael's assassination of Sisera as he lay 'fast asleep and weary', and the miraculous destruction of 185,000 Assyrians. Their new readings bring a needlessly large crop of difficulties: the birth of a son to Abraham when he was a hundred years old, the enchantments of Moses, and a terrible example of the fierce anger of Jehovah ('Let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against this stiff-necked people, and that I may consume them', Exod. xxxii). The deliberate sanction by the church to-day of such passages incurs more responsibility than the continuance of an old order, to which we are indulgent because it is old. We may be grateful for many of the additions, such as the story of the friendship of David and Jonathan, Jeremiah's promise of the New Covenant (so essential to the understanding of the New Testament), and selections from the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Especially welcome, and representative of the modern estimate of the older scriptures, is the variety of lessons from the Prophets, as alternatives to the lessons from the historical books. The only bar to the effectiveness of such prophetic readings is that they require a few words of introduction to explain their historical setting and their drift, and the revisers suggest that an authorized book of such prefaces should be issued. They have also seen the wisdom of keeping the prophetical lessons shorter than the narrative lessons, and of bringing them to a fine close; too often, in our present reading of whole chapters, the interest flags

after the climax is reached, and the great moment is not recaptured. The revisers have done this part of their work with great skill, e. g. in the endings Isa. vi 8, xi 9, and Amos v 24.

The provision of proper lessons from the New Testament for every Sunday has also been long needed and is here supplied. The Festival lessons have been revised with care, and some of the more fanciful selections (e. g. the three visitors of Genesis xviii for Trinity Sunday, and the two olive trees of Zech. iv for St Philip and St James) have been abandoned.

In providing for the ferial course the revisers have shewn more originality, and made more use of scholarship. Instead of following the calendar months, lessons are provided for the ecclesiastical weeks, and greater harmony is thus established between the Sunday and the ferial lessons. The prophets are read from Advent to Septuagesima, when the Pentateuch is begun, to be followed by the historical books. Ezra and Nehemiah are read in close connexion with Haggai and Zechariah. St Paul's Epistles are read in the generally accepted order of their composition, and Titus is read between 1st and 2nd Timothy. St Mark's Gospel is read from Advent to Christmas Eve, ending, not with the Passion and Resurrection, but appropriately with the Little Apocalypse. Acts is selected for Eastertide, and Hebrews for Ascensiontide. For the week-day evenings between Trinity Sunday and the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, readings are arranged from the Synoptic Gospels with a view to providing a consecutive story without much overlapping.

Enough perhaps has been said to shew that the revisers' proposals have been worked out with much ingenuity and success, but that further changes are still needed.

F. E. HUTCHINSON.

REVIEWS

RECENT ASSYRIOLOGY.

University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section. Vol. xi. Nos. 1 and 2.

Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur. Lists of Akkadian Personal Names by EDWARD CHIERA. (Philadelphia: published by the University Museum: 1916.)

THE practice-tablets of the schools of scribes in the great cities of Babylonia have often preserved some precious fragment of ancient literature, all the more fascinating to the student because its connexion was so hard to conjecture. But the perpetual issue of conjectures, however brilliant their coruscations, soon palls on the seeker for the calm cold light of truth. We can only hope for this as the result of patient, thorough, and exhaustive research. It may seem a dull task to burrow mole-like in a dust heap after school-boy exercises in the hope of reclaiming some scrap of a long lost classic; and the monotonous task must be repeated again and again, for the recognition of each shred is likely to recall some other which perchance may restore it. The shortest way is to copy or at least to catalogue every fragment, so that fresh fragments may be more readily compared and assigned to their true connexion.

This volume permits a glance at the workshop of these industrious sorters of the rags and tatters of the Babylonian waste-paper baskets of the old temple schools. Probably the most difficult branch of the cuneiform learning has been the study of personal names. The use of ideograms, a sign for an idea, was a welcome abbreviation of his task to the scribe who desired to write down the long sentences that then did duty for names as in our commonwealth days. But, until we have been to school with the young scribes, how can we hope to guess what word, or part of that word, was intended when the scribe simply indicated the idea of it? The contractions of mediaeval manuscripts are child's play compared with this problem. The very scribes themselves were sometimes puzzled as to the way in which they should write a proper name and, being human, despite their learning and natural expert knowledge of their own tongue, occasionally made mistakes.

They, however, had lists drawn up to which they could refer, which presented in orderly arrangement a vast selection of personal names properly written, with correct spellings. These they copied out, and

doubtless committed to memory ; and to us each fragment of such lists is a treasure. Dr Chiera has done us a great service in publishing and analysing the fragments of such lists, found in the Nippur collections. Apart from their original purpose, these lists throw light on the theology of Babylonia in so far as it can be revealed by knowledge of the gods whose names occur in the personal names of their worshippers. The majority of these worshippers' names are theophorous.

Not only the Sumerians, whose language was not Semitic, but the Akkadians and further the Amorites of Babylonia have left abundant names from which much information may be drawn as to religious ideas, and even to some extent light obtained as to their civilization. Naturally the three races deeply influenced each other in many directions, but enough material has now been obtained to enable scholars to block out the main characteristics of each. This book has largely added to that material.

The cuneiform text of the lists is given in beautifully neat copies ; the names are transcribed and, so far as possible, translated, collected in groups according to race, Sumerian, Akkadian, or Amoritic, and illustrated abundantly from all sources. The notes are full, careful, and really illuminative. Altogether it is a most valuable edition of most important matter, and I am glad to see a promise of further work of the kind.

This cannot be the place for an extended criticism of the innumerable translations of proper names here given. It is enough to note that by looking out the abundant references the student may discover the grounds for most of them. A discussion of the changes introduced would fill a large volume. The work appears to be most carefully done and marks a great advance.

It may be apparently ungrateful to object to simple misnomers, but confusion is bound to arise from the hasty adoption of terms which are not exactly appropriate. A long list of names, though evidently intended to facilitate the correct writing and proper understanding of those names, can only be called a syllabary by forcing the meaning of that term. It is difficult to see how a syllabary is to be defined, if it is to cover this kind of text as well as those to which it has hitherto been applied. Perhaps Dr Chiera will finally suggest a more appropriate title.

Many important questions concerning the Amorites of Babylonia and their relation to the Amorites of the Old Testament still await solution, but the large additions here made to the personal nomenclature of the former must go far to fix our ideas of them. A full investigation of the material now at our disposal would demand a large volume, but Dr Chiera has done well to give us a few samples of his conclusions.

They serve to shew the extraordinary interest of the subject and his ability and insight in handling it.

If Dr Chiera's results prove well founded, there are many more Amoritic names in the Old Testament than had been suspected, and the question of their date becomes quite important. He has rendered them available with ease to Old Testament students. As a study of the class of texts, of their results for proper names, the work is thoroughly trustworthy, and it must have involved intense labour for which we are deeply grateful.

University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section. Vol. x, No. 2.

Sumerian Liturgical Texts, by STEPHEN LANGDON. (Philadelphia : published by the University Museum : 1917.)

DR LANGDON has here published the texts, so far as they have been preserved, of a couple of dozen tablets, excavated by the University of Pennsylvania's Expedition to Babylonia, and now in the University Museum at Philadelphia. To all appearance the texts have been carefully copied, at any rate they look very neat, and give an excellent rendering of the palaeographical peculiarities of the Nippur scribes under the dynasties of Ur and Isin.

With great learning and much ingenuity the editor of these ancient religious writings, which he dates between 2475 and 2133 B.C., gives a transcription and translation of them. He adds many elaborate and often valuable notes, explaining not only the many real difficulties of the language and ideas but also to some extent the methods by which he arrives at the meaning he ascribes to them. The whole work is most welcome, not only to the small group of specialists in Sumerian, but also to the students of religion and of early civilization.

The former may be left to wrestle with the great difficulties of transcription and translation in detail. They will be very grateful to Dr Langdon for his valiant efforts to unlock the mysteries of a still obscure tongue. The interpretation of Sumerian owes much to him, and the criticisms which he is sure to meet with must be regarded as inseparable from the pioneer work which he is, on the whole, successfully carrying out. The continued publication and discussion of fresh texts is the only way by which we can expect to improve our knowledge, and this may safely be left to Dr Langdon and his colleagues. It would be out of place to enter upon the doubtful renderings and traverse the conclusions arrived at by so much learning and acute conjecture. It would, in the present state of our knowledge, too often be simply to suggest equally precarious alternatives.

The student of religious ideas will be startled to find so many early analogues of theological speculations or philosophical concepts. He will be well advised to read and re-read earlier works in which Dr Langdon has gradually built up his views of the fundamental characteristics of Sumerian thought and literature. Otherwise he may be tempted to reject off-hand the use of modern phraseology to elucidate such very early religious writings. 'Liturgical texts', 'Messianic ideas', 'philosophic age', 'heroic measures', 'scholastic period', &c., are terms which a casual reference, confined to the present texts, may well fail to justify. The editor uses them all, doubtless because he has convinced himself of their appropriateness, but clearly often in a sense somewhat remote from that which is usual in other connexions. In some cases apparently a casual resemblance has struck him, and he has pressed the analogy too far. The use of such terms may be allowed, metaphorically, in default of a more scientific nomenclature, but far-reaching conclusions are not safely built upon logical deductions from metaphor. The method vitiates much of what has been written on this subject, and Dr Langdon points out instances of error based on its use by others.

Hence the general reader must be cautious in basing his own conclusions on the usual acceptation of the terms transferred, provisionally, to denote things which are not strictly what the terms usually imply. But a reference to the text itself will generally shew how far he may press the term.

The question of the deification of the kings and its connexion with racial genius is summarized in the Introduction. Dr Langdon says, 'beginning with the early years of Dungi, second king of the dynasty of Ur, the doctrine of the deification of kings holds perhaps the foremost place in Sumerian theology, and certainly the practice of this belief occupies the chief position in their liturgy'. One might be disposed to accept this statement if one had only the texts in this volume to work upon. But he continues, 'The doctrine of a divine right to rule was proclaimed by the early city kings of Sumer at the dawn of history when they assumed the religious title *patesi*, priest-king, either to the exclusion of or in conjunction with the secular title *lugal*, king'. Here one is inclined to remark, it was not then 'beginning with the early days of Dungi', and *lugal* is also *ex hypothesi* a religious title not only a secular one. In fact, it is not clear that *patesi* was more a religious title than *lugal*. It may only mark a different political status. Then Dr Langdon says, 'during the long ages preceding the rise of the Ur dynasty in the twenty-fifth century the Sumerian people generally accepted this ancient dogma'. This still further modifies the ascription of its rise to the times of Dungi. Probably Dr Langdon means that starting with a fully developed doctrine in the time of Dungi

we may trace it back to very remote ages. But he scarcely proves that it was not fully developed at the earliest period to which he refers.

Still later in the Introduction Dr Langdon says: 'The Semitic people, who after ages of conflict, peaceful and violent, at last supplanted the Sumerian race, abolished the entire institution of king-worship and with it the belief in the Messianic age.' But this is surely contrary to known facts. The kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon were treated as divine. Even this book shews that. How else could Samsu-iluna have composed a hymn to his own statue (p. 151)? It may have been composed by some one else in his honour, but if a hymn implies deification of its subject, he was deified as much as the earlier kings.

Long ago Professor Sayce founded a comparison of the Semitic and Sumerian religious genius on the contrast between the people's treatment of this very question of the deification of kings, and stated that the Semites rejected the dogma. He overlooked the divine honours paid to Hammurabi and his successors, as was duly pointed out by several scholars. It is curious to see the mistake so soon revived. The obvious conclusion of theological predicates is not always that which comes into force in the history of religion, and one needs to walk warily in the by-paths of such ancient ideas, especially where indications of the road are as yet so scanty.

In a similar way we shall probably find that the real meaning of the Sumerian *sak-sal* entirely obviates the need to postulate an 'impulse' on the part of the scribe to use a phrase (of which he surely knew the exact sense) as a convenient ending for a literary composition without regard to its strict appropriateness. The actual use militates against Dr Langdon's theory that it is a liturgical rubric; so far as it goes.

There are few misprints likely to mislead an alert reader, but there are many to be detected by comparing the texts as given with their translation, and not a few misspellings occur.

It is deeply interesting to find the invasion of Sumer and its subjugation by the people of Gutium made the subject of a long poem or lamentation which Dr Langdon regards as in some sense a liturgy. The Biblical student will think of the Hebrew treatment of history in the Psalms and the prophets. He can compare the historical facts as known to us in Dr King's *Babylon* for light upon the way in which the history appears in poetry. But Dr Langdon is surely adventurous in calling it one of 'a numerous series of liturgical compositions which commemorated this great calamity' when he can only produce one other, and that a duplicate from the same collection.

The reference to serpent-worship, or rather to the serpent as adversary of man, is rightly said to be unusual, as there appears to be only one other reference in Sumerian literature; but this extreme rarity can

scarcely be good ground for saying that 'the tradition of the serpent, incarnation of evil and all hostility to man, permeates Sumero-Babylonian religion and was transmitted to the Hebrews'. When one can with difficulty find one or two instances of a tradition it surely cannot be said to permeate anything. In truth, Dr Langdon himself later produces another instance, and more may be found; but even that stops far short of permeation. Perhaps the Introduction was written before he noted the second instance.

University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section. Vol. xii. No. 1.

Sumerian Grammatical Texts, by STEPHEN LANGDON. (Philadelphia: published by the University Museum: 1917.)

THIS work contains fifty-six texts from the Nippur collections of the Pennsylvania University in the University Museum at Philadelphia. They are copied with great care and reproduced with clearness and, so far as can be judged without collation, with fidelity. The texts are treated, according to the plan of the series, by a selection being transcribed and translated, or by comments on the new material they afford, especially from the philological point of view. Many of them are pupil's copies of standard texts. Some of these standard texts were already known from copies made for the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, now preserved in the British Museum. As these later copies were made some fifteen centuries later we can see how the earlier texts were varied and expanded. The texts from Nippur are often, like the later texts, in a fragmentary state; but the two redactions supplement and restore each other in a most satisfactory way and together give welcome additions to our knowledge of Sumerian and Akkadian or Semitic Babylonian.

For the most part, these texts are chiefly of interest to the student of the languages of Babylonia, and detailed criticism of such matters cannot be indulged in here. Dr Langdon's notes are illuminating and accurate on the whole, being specially addressed to his fellow workers.

It seems somewhat perverse to include among Sumerian Grammatical Texts lists of names of wooden objects, syllabaries, a fragment of a law code, a deed of sale of a house, a contract, a letter, and a legend concerning a raven. We are too grateful for new material to quarrel with their appearance here, but they have nothing to do with grammar even if they teach us some incidentally. Dr Langdon is too apt to treat his own deductions, acute as they are, as if they had the same authority as the text; and he has a confusing habit of setting them down as if actually on his tablet. A list of Sumerian words he not only transcribes and translates but sets down the Semitic equivalents in his transcription,

ascertained from all sorts of sources, quite obscuring the fact that his text gave no rendering of the Sumerian. These completions any scholar might make for himself, but the reader may easily suppose them part of the text and fancy the authority was ancient when it is ultimately Dr Langdon himself.

There are quite a large number of uncorrected misprints, unverified references, and barbarisms. Why should the English word 'syllabary' be discarded in an English work for the unsightly German 'syllabar'? For the usual 'thou shalt not' he often gives 'not shalt thou'. In no. 4616 *adini ul ikaššadam* should be rendered 'as yet it has not reached (me)' and not 'our fixed time he keeps not'. The sign *TUR* cannot be read *gina* as well as *dumu* in Sumerian as is done in no. 4617. When two parties in Babylonia concluded an agreement, such as is embodied in no. 4570, they usually had it stated that one party shall not raise a plea against the other, shall not attempt to alter the agreement, &c. These voluntary pledges to keep faith with one another are expressed, sometimes with minute detail, sometimes with extreme conciseness. Here we have *kima kûm lâ šagama . . . ina inim lâ tugala-lani*. It is clear that *kima kûm* means 'one with another' and *la šagama* means 'not to complain' unless *šagama* is an error for its more usual synonym *ragama*. The missing verb should be one meaning 'they agreed', or the like. We often find 'not to alter' expressed by *ina lî ini*; here, the negation follows *ina ini*, 'to alter' thou shalt not make light of it (the agreement). It is, of course, impossible to be certain this is the exact rendering of the phrase until we know what the missing verb was, but the general sense must be that neither party shall attempt to nullify the agreement. Much of the remaining portion of this text is uncertain owing to the imperfect state of the tablet, but it is certain that the parties swore 'by the king' and not 'in his name'. Dr Langdon has completely misunderstood the text in other points, which it would take too long to point out here.

Dr Langdon has often treated us to 'child-begetting' females and has been duly rebuked for it, but to no purpose; for he here again writes of 'Išum whom Ninlil (a goddess!) begat for Shamash'. Surely he cannot be ignorant of the physiological fact that men 'beget' the children whom women 'bear'. But here as elsewhere the oddities and mistakes which disfigure his books are probably due to a disinclination to revise his proofs rather than to ignorance. Yet one is led to wonder how he came to write the things he does write. He must not think it unkind or carping criticism which points out such mistakes; for I value the labour he devotes to his work, and the enterprise with which he attacks difficulties.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

Lectures on the Church and the Sacraments, by P. T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D.,
Principal of Hackney College, Hampstead; Dean of the Faculty
of Theology in the University of London. (Longmans, Green
& Co., London, 1917.)

WHEN Dr Forsyth writes he puts his whole personality into his work, and reveals himself as well as his subject. No one can read this book without realizing that it is the work of a vivid and vigorous personality, a frank and fearless teacher, an implacable foe of all unreality and mere conventionality, a soul fired with a great faith in the power of the Gospel and full of noble enthusiasms. Dr Forsyth is a real prophet. It is a pity that he wishes to stand before us as a theologian also; for in this latter rôle he can hardly be called a great success. The two are not easily combined, and in Dr Forsyth the prophet comes first, the theologian is a poor second. He has indeed the prophet's vision; his subject scintillates and coruscates before his eyes; he is dazzled by its brilliance; the dire needs, the urgent necessities of the times, glow red like fire before his gaze, and everything else—the niceties and the exactnesses of the scholar—are lost to sight. The result is a challenging, penetrating, fascinating book, sparkling with epigram, pointed antithesis and plays upon words, and replete with those over-statements which are quite allowable in a prophet who wishes to force a dull-witted people to see his point, but which the careful theologian must avoid above all things.

The Free Churches propose to federate. Of this Dr Forsyth heartily approves; but he tells them to federate, not for fear of losing their influence on the world, nor out of a sentimental feeling of brotherhood, but because it is the right thing to do, because theology, and the theory of the Church, demand it. It is to supply a theory of the Church that this book is written.

Before criticizing his theology, let us do justice to his prophecy. Christianity, as he sees it, stands in an acute antagonism to the world. 'The great antithesis of Christianity is "civilization"'. The World, the mere mastery of nature and of man, is the chief obstacle to Christianity in the world.' In speaking of civilization Dr Forsyth has in mind the picture of what a Christless human society can become, as it is now being set before us by the Prussian state. 'The more Humanity prevails as an ideal, the more we must ask, what is to prevail with Humanity?' The war, which has revealed the power of evil latent in human society as this generation has never seen it before, compels us to ask 'what is to cope with the cynical negation of Humanity to which the cult of Humanity has come?' Dr Forsyth answers that the Church must do so. If society is to appear everywhere after the war in a democratic

dress, then the task of the Church is not to serve the democracy in a subordinate capacity as its department of morals, but to lead, to dominate, to subdue it into God's Kingdom. In order to do this the Church must be sure of itself, confident in its supernatural power and authority, certain of what it believes, convinced of the power of the Gospel it has to declare, and determined not to make any compromise with the world. Dr Forsyth has a fine scorn for all 'gentle and creedless pietists', for all preachers who soothe and flatter the world and tone down the Gospel to suit their hearers. 'We must make it clear', he says, 'that Christianity faces the world with terms, and does not simply suffuse it with a glow; that it crucifies the world, and does not merely consecrate it; that it is life from the dead, and not simply bracing for the weak or comfort for the sad.'

The Church is not, and cannot be, democratic. 'No society, which gives Christ the regal place the Church does, can be a democracy.' Again, 'the fundamental difference between a Church and a democracy lies in the principle that no numbers can create a real authority such as the Church confesses, whereas democracy will listen to no authority but what its numbers and majorities do create.' If the Church does not master the democracy, the democracy may cast it out for lack of a note in it which it can respect.

In all this there speaks the voice of a genuine prophet. Organized Christianity has never recovered from the loss of the belief in verbal inspiration; it has not yet found anything to give it the power and compelling authority it possessed in the days when men in general believed that the Bible spoke the very words of God Himself. And in this hour of its great weakness the Church of Christ is called to face its most arduous task. In calling attention to this vital need of a supernatural authority Dr Forsyth has done us all a great service.

What then does he mean by 'the Church'? Does he mean the clergy, or the laity, or the whole of Christianity, or what? At this point he becomes disappointing. If ever a man has need of clear thinking, of close and accurate scholarship, of painstaking definitions and strict adherence to them, it is when he is laying down a theory of the Church. Yet not only the apparatus, but also the methods, of a scholar are absent from this book. There are no references to enable us to test his work and track his authorities; the Bible is the only book referred to, and that he cites with chapter and verse (unless I have counted wrongly) only 32 times in the course of his 273 pages. Of the Fathers he takes no account. Is not this a little arrogant? If, as he says, it was the Gospel which made the Church, the Gospel came to the Fathers before it came to us, and it made the Church to be what it was in their days; and any one who is formulating a theory of the

Church would do well to shew that he understands them and can say why and where they were wrong, if he would have us adopt his theory instead of theirs.

When we try to discover what he means by 'the Church' we are left in great confusion. 'The Church' is to him an adaptable and convenient expression which can be stretched to any length or shape required by the argument of the moment, and then so compressed again that it finally vanishes from sight and appears as an abstract quality. Thus, it means 'the chosen people of God, the body of Christ, the company of the baptized, the new Israel, of which the local Churches were but stations, or "outcrops" as it were' (pp. 62-64); it is constantly used for a denomination, for any group of Christians whatever, and then for a quality of a denomination; 'no one can be saved by a denomination as such, but only by what Church there is in it'. Nonconformity is the 'Church' of half the nation. We may be more or less accustomed to some at least of these uses, but what are we to understand by 'Church' in the following? In baptism the person baptized becomes 'a child of the Church' (p. 161); 'these Sacraments are not primarily *individual* acts; they are corporate acts, acts *of the Church*' (p. 166); 'well, if it be an act of the Church, must not the Church be there to perform it? Ought the Church to depute and leave not only the agency but the whole act to the minister?' (p. 170); 'I would make most of the Sacraments because of their *right* within the Church as Christ's will, and, at their centre, Christ's act—the act of the Church's indwelling Christ' (p. 173); 'the minister . . . simply acts for the Church gathered round him. He is its hand and voice. But he cannot feel that he is that if the Church be mainly absent. . . . Baptism is the Church's act, and, if the Church is not there, the act falls to the ground as a Sacrament' (p. 172). Dr Forsyth is never a very lucid writer; but who can tell from these passages what his view is as to the relation of the Sacraments to the Christian society? Are they related to the whole Church, the Body of Christ, or to any group of its members, or to both alike? So far as one can tell Dr Forsyth inclines to the last—at least on p. 202 he suggests that infant baptism is the entrance into the Catholic Church, and adult baptism the entrance into a local or voluntary association.

There is the same confusion when he treats of the ministry. 'Christ ordained a ministry, the Church ordains ministers' (p. 129). This opposition between Christ and the Church makes us think that, of course, he means the whole Christian society ordaining, as the Bishop of Oxford, Dr Moberly, and many others have said, through its appointed organ the Episcopate. But what is really meant may be seen on p. 125. The 'Church' ordains when any group of its members

ordains. Dr Forsyth seems to think that whatever is true of the whole Church is true not only of every denomination, but also of every chance group of individual Christians; and vice versa. It is very much to be hoped that when he comes to print a second edition, he will go carefully through all the passages where the word 'Church' occurs and ask himself what he really means by it, and whether what he is saying is true in that sense of the word.

One hopes the book will be widely read. It will stimulate thought, and lead on to further enquiry. It represents an immense advance over the views usually associated with Nonconformist theology. One sentence alone will shew this. 'It is a more faithful thing to Christ to maintain a form of Sacrament which is wrong than to let his cause go and His command fail by renouncing Sacraments altogether.' Of course, Dr Forsyth has some hard things to say of the Church of England (who, indeed, has not?); but then he has very much harder things to say of the Free Churches; the Roman Church, perhaps, gets off the easiest. All of which goes to shew that those whom he loves most he chastens most, which is as it should be. English Churchmen may not be able to accept his theology, but they will welcome the proof of his affection and try to profit by his godly admonitions.

HAROLD HAMILTON.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1917 (Vol. lxxxiv, No. 168 : Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM Authority—The teaching of History in England—H. M. RELTON Patripassianism—H. RICKARD St Luke and St John : a study in evidence—A. MANSBRIDGE Church tutorial classes : a proposal for the further education of adult churchmen and women—W. H. G. HOLMES The awakening of India during the last century—The War and Peace—J. COOPER Church and Reform in Scotland—W. A. SPOONER Pain and conflict in human life—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1917 (Vol. xv, No. 4 : Williams & Norgate). J. WARD Personality the final aim of social eugenics—H. BOSANQUET Reconstruction—of what?—J. A. R. MARRIOTT Educational reconstruction—COUNTESS OF WARWICK The new religion—J. B. CROZIER Practical religion—W. R. LETHABY Towns to live in—W. R. INGE Survival and immortality—C. MERCIER Sir Oliver Lodge and the scientific world—L. P. JACKS The theory of survival in the light of its context—A. HEYKING Tolerance from a Russian point of view—E. JENKS The Englishman and his Law—H. D. RAWNSLEY Juvenile delinquency : the facts and its cause—F. H. CUTCLIFFE The pulpit and its opportunities—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 79 : Hodder & Stoughton). R. HARRIS The suggested primacy of Judas Iscariot—M. JONES Pauline Criticism in the present day—E. A. ABBOTT The Centurion of Capernaum—R. KILGOUR Two Hebrew Bibles of four hundred years ago—H. T. ANDREWS The message of Jewish Apocalyptic for modern times—E. SHILLITO Ezekiel and Reconstruction.

August 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 80). H. A. A. KENNEDY A new interpretation of Paulinism—E. A. ABBOTT The Centurion of Capernaum—C. W. EMMET Patriotism and Christianity—J. MOFFATT Expository notes upon Colossians—R. HARRIS A new title for Jesus Christ—W. S. BISHOP The High Priesthood of Christ as set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

September 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 81). F. GRANGER Communion with the Dead—H. A. A. KENNEDY A new interpretation of Paulinism—J. I. STILL The purpose and plan of the Book of Acts—J. A. HUTTON The sense of blame—J. M. THOMPSON Some editorial elements in the Fourth Gospel—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Revelation.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1917 (Vol. xxi, No. 3: Chicago University Press). A. E. GARVIE The danger of reaction, theological and ethical—G. B. SMITH Christianity and the spirit of democracy—B. S. EASTON The Pauline theology and Hellenism—H. F. COPE Fifteen years of the Religious Education Association—C. S. MACFARLAND The progress of federation among the Churches—M. SPRENGLING The Aramaic papyri of Elephantine in English—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1917 (Vol. xv, No. 3: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Christ our sacrifice—W. B. GREENE, jr. The reasonableness of vicarious atonement—J. B. WILLSON Lead and tin in ancient times—Reviews of recent literature.

The Journal of Theological Studies

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SERBIA AND THE HOLY LAND.¹

THE subject of this paper is a detail of the past history of Serbia. It is a detail common to the past of all Christian nations, and latterly it has been widely discussed. Every nation is proud of this chapter of its history, and Serbia is proud of hers. This detail is the relations of Serbia with the Holy Land.

But whereas other, more fortunate, nations have long ago compiled whole libraries dealing with their relations with Palestine, the people of Serbia have not a single book on the subject. It seems at first sight as if the Serbs had known nothing of the Sacred Places in which Christianity originated; and as if her evil fate had destroyed or effaced practically all traces of relations with the Holy Land. That, nevertheless, such relations existed, I endeavour to shew in this paper, which is compiled of very small details, collected from very scattered sources, from which the story can be only very imperfectly reconstructed; but I hope they will be sufficient to shew, that in reverence for, and interest in, the Holy Places of Christendom, Serbia has by no means occupied the last place.

Reverence for the Holy Land, and a devout interest in it, is deeply rooted in the past of this people. Although these roots do not reach so far back into the past as in the case of other Christian nations of Europe, yet they run down deep into the soil. And our relations with the Holy Land date back to the time of the Crusades, and that is not so very recent.

Since the Serbs belong to Orthodox Christendom, they took no part in the Crusades, which were undertaken and carried out with the blessing and countenance of the head of the Latin

¹ A paper read to the Serbian Literary and Debating Society in Oxford on March 9, 1918.

Church. But, if they had no active share in them, they shewed their undisguised sympathy with those who went forth under the Sign of the Cross to rescue the birthplace of Christianity from the infidel, the lands in which are the places most sacred for all Christendom, and where is the Sepulchre of Christ. All Crusaders passing through Serbia were hospitably received and entertained by the Serbian sovereigns and their nobles. Raymond de Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who led his Provençal Crusaders to Palestine in 1096, took the route through Lombardy, Istria, Dalmatia, and Serbia. In those days, the Serbian capital was in Skadar (Skutari); and the Serbian king, Constantine Bodin (1081-1101), received the Count of Toulouse in his capital with the utmost friendliness and cordiality. A treaty was concluded between the two, which proved most profitable to the Crusaders. Not only was passage and food-supply for the Crusaders in the Serbian lands secured by this treaty, but King Bodin also gave Raymond much valuable information, which he had gathered during his former sojourn in Constantinople and Asia Minor. With like cordiality Stephan Nemanja (1169-1196) received the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who marched to Palestine by way of the Danube and Eastern Serbia. On July 27, 1189, Stephan Nemanja himself, accompanied by his brother Sracimir, with a great following and bringing rich gifts, went to meet the Emperor at Nish. Besides the great honour shewn by the Orthodox Serbian sovereign to the Latin Emperor who was going forth to deliver the Holy Land, Nemanja also provided Frederick with plentiful supplies for his army in meat, bullocks, sheep, game, wine, fodder for the horses, and so forth.

This sympathy extended by the mediaeval sovereigns of Serbia to those who were on their way to fight for the deliverance of Palestine was far from expressing all the love they bore the Holy Land. The Serbian kings had a great character for piety; and this is very clearly expressed in the fact that almost all of them were canonized after their death. One manifestation of this piety was the reverence they shewed for the Christian shrines. They sent munificent gifts in money, ikons, crosses, and other ornaments, to many notable churches, whether Orthodox, in Constantinople, in Salonica, and on Mount Athos, or Latin, in Rome, Bari, and Dubrovnik (Ragusa). Likewise, from Stephan

Nemanja, the founder of the greatness of Serbia in the Middle Ages, down to the last princes of the Serbian dynasties and the fall of the Serbian Empire, they sent abundant gifts to the Christian shrines and churches of Palestine. In the miserable conditions in which the Holy Land then found itself, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the fathers of the Palestinian monasteries appealed to them for help; and even when the great Serbian Empire was reduced and weakened, under Stephan Lazarević (1389-1427) the Patriarch Theophilus of Jerusalem appealed to him and to the people of Serbia for help and charity for the Monastery of St John Baptist, in the Jordan valley, which had fallen into the hands of the infidel and lost its lands and revenues.¹

What is more important, at a very early date the Serbs had their own monasteries in Palestine. When St Sava, the son of Stephan Nemanja and the first Archbishop of Serbia, visited Jerusalem for the first time in 1229, he bought from the Saracens the Monastery of St John Baptist, in the Jordan valley, which had already been richly endowed by his father, so that Serbian pilgrims might have a hospice of their own, and a centre of Serbian religious and intellectual life in the Holy Land might be established there. King Milutin (1282-1321), whose generosity, according to the Serbian records, reached as far as Athos, Constantinople, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem, where he built churches and hospitals,² founded the great Serbian Monastery of the Archangels SS. Michael and Gabriel in Jerusalem, endowed it richly, and provided it with an annual subsidy. His successors, and notably the emperors Stephan Dušan (who reigned from 1331-1355) and Uroš (1355-1371) maintained the tradition initiated by Milutin. On the eastern shore of the Adriatic, north of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), on the neck of the peninsula of Sabbioncello, lies the well-known harbour of Ston (Stagno), which belonged to the mediaeval empire of Serbia. The citizens of Dubrovnik applied to Tsar Dušan to cede it to them for an annual payment of 500 perpers. Besides other gifts, Dušan made over this annual sum to the Monastery of SS. Michael and Gabriel in Jerusalem. His son Tsar Uroš confirmed his father's gift and

¹ *Starine Jugoslovenske Akademije* iv pp. 232-234.

² *Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* iii pp. 96, 98.

decreed besides that if this monastery should at any time be abandoned, its revenues should be transferred to the Serbian Monasteries of Hilendar and St Paul on Mount Athos. Towards the end of the 15th century the monastery became deserted owing to the ravages of the plague which carried off the monks. Hearing of this evacuation the Sultana Maria, widow of the Sultan Murat II, and daughter of the Serbian despot George Branković (1427-1456), who had her residence in Jezevo near Seres in Macedonia, decreed that 'the annual sum hitherto paid by the people of Dubrovnik to Jerusalem should be transferred to Mount Athos', to the Monasteries of Hilendar and St Paul, as already provided by Tsar Uroš¹. The monastery in Jerusalem was eventually restored; but as by that time there was neither Serbian State nor Serbian Sovereign, it had to rely on the support of the Russian Tsars and Bojars. In the 17th century it became the property of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and since 1857 it has belonged to the Russian Mission in Jerusalem.² Meanwhile, this monastery had given its name to one of the gates of Jerusalem, which disappeared when the walls were rebuilt in the 16th century. At the time of the visit of the Arab Mujir ed-Din in 1496, the gate in the north wall, west of the Damascus Gate, and at the north-east corner of the Christian quarter, was known as the 'Gate of the Serbian Monastery' (*Bāb Dēr es-Serb*).³

Besides these evidence of their interest, the Serbian sovereigns themselves journeyed to Palestine to worship at the Sepulchre of our Lord and the other Holy Places. Prince Lazar was in Palestine in 1372.⁴ According to one tradition, a tower of the Monastery of St Sabbas 'the Sanctified',⁵ three hours south-east of Jerusalem, and half-way between the Holy City and the Dead Sea, was erected by the care of Prince Lazar, and dedicated under the name of St Symeon.

¹ F. Miklosić *Monumenta Serbica* pp. 520-522.

² C. Jireček *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien* i, Vienna 1912, pp. 52 sq. There is an article on the Monastery of the Archangels SS. Michael and Gabriel by N. Dučić *Godisnjica N. Čupića* ix pp. 235-242, but I have not been able to make use of it.

³ See G. Le Strange *Palestine under the Moslems* p. 215. The Monastery of St Michael is something less than 100 yards from the present north wall.

⁴ *Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* iii pp. 131, 139, 151, 154.

⁵ St Sabbas ὁ ἡγιασμένος, better known to English people as Mar Saba.

Equally with the Serbian temporal rulers, the princes of the Church manifested their interest in the Holy Land. The first Archbishop of Serbia, St Sava, as we have already seen, bought the Monastery of St John Baptist for his people. The first Patriarch of Serbia, Joanikiji (1346-1354), built two churches in Palestine, namely, that of St Elias on Mount Carmel, 'where King Ahab gathered together all the children of Israel and of the prophets of Baal, four hundred and fifty, and of the prophets of the groves, four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table', and Elijah shewed them the power of the Lord¹; and a church on Mount Tabor in Galilee, the traditional site of the Transfiguration.

In all Serbian monasteries in the Holy Land all the monks were Serbs, and in all of them the Liturgy was celebrated in the Serbian tongue, i. e. in the Serbian variety of the Church-Slavonic. The Serbian books belonging to the Monastery of SS. Michael and Gabriel are often mentioned in our records.²

Serbian monks were to be found also in other monasteries. Several of them are mentioned by name as inmates of the Monastery of our Lady on Sinai, and of that of Raithu on the west coast of the peninsula. The Monastery of our Lady, with which Serbia had already had relations³, towards the end of the 14th century was ruled by a certain Abbot Joakim, who was a Serb by nationality.⁴ In 1504 the Serbian monks of SS. Michael and Gabriel took over the management of the Monastery of St Sabbas the Sanctified, which was founded by Justinian, and, as we have seen, added a high tower to the church in 1612, in honour of the Serbian St Symeon Mirotočivi ('the unguent-distilling', i. e. Stephan Nemanja).

The prelates of the Serbian Church charged themselves with the care of Serbian monks in Palestine, and supplied them with books and other spiritual necessities. Thus, in 1360, the Serbian Metropolitan Jakov of Seres in Macedonia, presented the Monastery of our Lady on Sinai with many Serbian books, requesting

¹ 1 Kings xviii.

² Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* nos. 1749, 4567, 4568, 5934.

³ This monastery was richly endowed by Stephan Uroš I's queen, Helen († 1314), and her sons Dragutin and Milutin (C. Jireček *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien* i p. 53).

⁴ Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 4566.

his 'Serb and Greek brothers' that 'these books might never be removed from the monastery of our Lady'.¹

A notable number of Serbian books were removed from the Monastery of St Sabbas to Russia in 1835; namely (a) of manuscripts, an *Oktoik* (Ὀκτώηχος) with the entry 'King Stephan Uroš' (king of Serbia 1243-1276); a 15th century *Prolog* (Lives of the Saints); 15th and 16th century MSS of the Gospels; an *Oktoik* and a *Psaltir* (Psalter) of the 17th century; 16th or 17th century *Liturgies of St Basil the Great and St Epiphanius*²; a *Zbornik* (Miscellany) by the Serbian Metropolitan Mihajlo of Kratovo, of the middle of the 17th century; and (b) of printed books, a Serbian *Molitvoslov* (Horologion) printed in Venice in 1560.³ It is impossible to say how many Serbian MSS and printed books are still to be found in Palestinian monasteries; but that there must be some, may be assumed from what has been said.

Besides building churches and supporting Serbian monks in the Holy Land, the Serbian prelates further shewed their regard by themselves journeying to 'see the Holy City of Jerusalem, to worship at the life-giving Sepulchre of Christ, and to visit all the Holy Places which the sacred feet of Christ have trodden', as the Serbian annals have it. The first prelate who journeyed to Palestine was, as we have seen, St Sava, the first Archbishop of the independent Church of Serbia (1219-1235). He was there twice, in 1229 and 1235, during the period in which Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, were once more in the possession of the Franks by the terms of Frederick II's Treaty of Jaffa (Feb. 1229). On both occasions he took much gold and silver 'so that he might bestow it upon the Holy Places'. His nephew, Radoslav, then king of Serbia (1228-1234), would fain have 'given him his whole house', to carry it away and bestow it in Palestine. Upon his arrival in Jerusalem, St Sava 'bestowed many gifts upon the Church of God, upon the Patriarch, his clergy, and the poor'. He moreover visited 'Bethlehem, Zion, the Holy of Holies, Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, Galilee, the Cave of our Lord, worshipping at all the shrines

¹ Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 116.

² i. e. of the Presanctified.

³ *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěštenia* (Gazette of the National Ministry for Public Instruction), Petrograd 1836, xi pp. 529-548.

around the Holy City, everywhere celebrating the Divine Liturgy and distributing charity'. Then he went on to the Jordan and 'visited the Church of St John Baptist and the Lavra of St Gerasimos [in the Jordan valley], the great Monastery of St Sabbas, Nazareth, and Mount Tabor', again everywhere 'distributing charity'. On his second journey to Palestine he also visited Egypt and Sinai 'and worshipped at the sacred spot where the thorn-bush burned and was not consumed', and where 'the Lord himself revealed himself unto Moses in the burning bush, saying, I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob; put off the shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground'; wherefore 'unto this day the priests celebrate Holy and Divine Liturgy barefoot upon this spot'.¹ Since St Sava, many Serbian patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, have journeyed to the Holy Land down to our own days.

These examples on the part of the prelacy were followed by the lower clergy and the monks. Large numbers of Serbian monks and priests went to Palestine, as the ancient records put it, 'to worship the holy and lifegiving Sepulchre of Christ and all the Holy Places, such as Bethlehem and Holy Zion, where the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples of Christ, Gethsemane, where is the Sacred Tomb of the Mother of God, the Mount of Eleon,² whence Christ ascended into heaven, Bethany where Lazarus was raised from the dead, and the river Jordan where Christ was baptized, and the surrounding desert, and also the Monastery of St Sabbas'. For these monks and priests it was a special honour and a matter of pious gratification when they were entitled to put the title *Hadži* before their names, and after them the words 'Worshipper of the Sepulchre of Christ'.

The reverence with which the mass of our Serbian people regarded the Holy Land, was not inferior to that shewn by our princes, prelates, and clergy. To the common Serbian people, Palestine, as the land where Christ dwelt on earth and suffered for the

¹ All the details concerning St Sava's journeys to Palestine are taken from 'Putešestrija Svjatago Savi arhiepiskopa serbskago' (The Journeys of St Sava, Archbishop of Serbia) in the redaction of the Archimandrite Leonidas in *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik* ii, St Petersburg 1884 (in Russian).

² Eleonska Gora, The Mount of Olives, 'Ελαιών (Acts i 12), the *Elcona* of Aethiopia.

redemption of mankind, was a source of miraculous power. Whole legends are told among our people of the Holy Fire (the *nur* or *nur Božji*) which falls from heaven and lights the tapers of the worshippers, of purification by immersion in the Jordan, of the prayers and miracles of the hermits, and so forth. According to popular belief, God deals with man through the Holy Land. It is from there that he sends out his 'Epistles' warning men of the Last Judgement. Thence he tries the obedience of his people and decrees the fates of nations. According to the national ballad,¹ Prince Lazar lost the Serbian Empire because, in reply to the question contained in a letter from the Blessed Virgin brought to him from Jerusalem by Elijah, he chose the eternal, heavenly kingdom, in preference to a transitory earthly one. In Palestine, according to popular belief, all is holy—the air, the earth, water, flowers, and stones. Whoever goes to Palestine and worships at the Holy Places, for the rest of his life, prefixes the title *Hadži*² to his name (e.g. Hadži-Petar, Hadži-Pavle) or simply styles himself *Hadžija*. Often the title is borne even by his far-off descendants. Many popular Serbian surnames have it as a prefix: e.g. Hadžići, Hadži-Petrovići, Hadži-Pavlovići.

These Hadžis represent a type apart among the Serbian people. They avoid occasions of sin, scrupulously observe the fasts, go regularly to church, pray and give charity, and their only care is to please God and to be of use to their fellow-creatures and their people. This religious, moral, and patriotic life of the Hadžis only served to strengthen the popular belief in the miraculous power of the Holy Land. The Hadžis have at all times been among the most devoted sons of the Serbian nation. They have not only set a religious and moral example, but they have been our most distinguished and public-spirited promoters of civilization and of culture, our most enthusiastic patriots and champions of the rights of the Serbian people. St Sava is one of the greatest figures in Serbian history—the founder of the independence of the Church of Serbia, the father of Serbian

¹ This ballad is contained in S. Stojković's selection, *Lazarica*, Geneva 1917, pp. 166 sq. ; French transl. in L. D'Orfer *Chants de Guerre de la Serbie*, Paris 1916, pp. 42 sqq. ; English in M. Mügge *Serbian Folk Songs*, London 1916, pp. 1916 sqq.

² The Arabic حاجي, the moslem pilgrim to Mecca.

mediaeval literature, the enlightener of his people, and the great political minister of Serbia, both at home and abroad, in his own day. The Metropolitan, Michael of Banja, Štip, Kratovo, and Radomir, in Macedonia, who lived towards the middle of the 17th century, was an author and a great patriot. Finding himself unable to endure Turkish persecution any longer, he quitted his see in Macedonia in 1651 and proceeded to Russia, not in order to save himself, but to seek help and support for his people. From Russia he sent liberal gifts to the Serbian Patriarch, to the Monastery of Hilendar, and to other Serbian churches and monasteries; he received the complaints of the Serbian people against the tyranny of the Turks, and acted as intermediary and ambassador for the Serbian nation. The Patriarch Arsenije III Ćarnojević, who lived at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, is the most outstanding personality of the period of Serbian slavery under the Turks. The Metropolitan Hadži-Zakarija of Raška and Prizren (+ 1830) fought zealously against Greek influences on Serbian Orthodoxy; and so forth. All these men were Hadžis. There is no Serbian, who does not know of our national heroes in the struggle against our oppressors: Hadži-Djero, Hadži-Ruvim, Hadži-Prodan Gligorijević, Hadži-Melentije Stefanović, Hadži-Nikola Mihailović, Hadži-Milutin Savić-Garašanin, Hadži-Savo Kosanović, and so on. Many of these sealed the work of their lives with a martyr's death, and are deeply enshrined in our history, tradition, and national poetry, throughout the Serbian lands. That the nation and its culture have survived to this day, in spite of the terrible calamities which they suffered through the vicissitudes of history, that the people has preserved its lofty moral and national ideal, is in a great measure, perhaps in the greatest measure, due to the merits of those of its sons who went as pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Pilgrims timed their journey to Palestine so as to arrive in Jerusalem towards the end of the Carnival or at the beginning of Lent, that is to say, in February or early in March. Only he was the true Hadži who had spent the Holy Week in Jerusalem and been to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Sunday.

One of the first duties of every worshipper was to be careful to

set out for the Holy Land with as few sins as possible on his conscience. Therefore all intending pilgrims strove to rid themselves of such sins as they were conscious of, or at least to mitigate them. They made peace with those with whom they were at variance; they begged pardon of those whom they had offended, and pardoned those who had offended them; they made donations to churches and monasteries,¹ and gave alms; they made their confessions, and received the Holy Communion.

According to popular belief, if the pilgrim desired to derive the full benefit of his worship in Palestine, he must spend no money on his journey, save that upon the earning of which a blessing rested. The most sacred money is that earned by the baker or the barber, because the baker feeds his fellow-creatures and the barber cleanses them from dirt. If a man was not assured that a blessing rested upon his money, he would change it for money earned by a man in either the barber's or the baker's trade. A charcoal-burner's money is accursed, because he scorches our mother, the earth, the soil which feeds us with bread, and destroys the innocent ants which live in the earth and in the trees which he burns. No charcoal-burner's money must be taken under any circumstances by the pilgrim on his way to the Holy Land.

The pilgrims travelled in parties. A great company went with St Sava. A notice of 1561 mentions that there travelled from Sarajevo in Bosnia to Jerusalem, to worship 'the venerable and lifegiving Sepulchre of the Lord', Vukovoj, Gavril, Sava, Jovan, and Sekula.² The Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević, in 1683, was accompanied by Sava the priest, Daniel the deacon, Vejko the Spahi, Kir Visarion the Exarch, Vasilje the priest, Zaharija, Hadži Stevan and Hadži-Vučeta (these two were making the journey for the second time). On their way they were joined by the preacher Kir Hristofor of the Monastery of Rača, by Kir Teofan, Metropolitan of Skoplje, and Nikon and

¹ When in 1703 Marko Nikolić from Sarajevo in Bosnia was setting out for the *hadžiluk* (i. e. the pilgrimage to the Holy Land) he presented the church of the Holy Archangel in Sarajevo with a book (Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 2110). Others bought vestments, crosses, chandeliers, &c., for the churches, according to their means. Less wealthy worshippers would give a few pounds of wax, incense, or oil, or a small gift of money to the church.

² Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 621.

Djora, two of his clergy, and some others besides ; by the Metropolitan Visarion of Dupnica, the Serb Raja from the village of Sestrima in Macedonia, and several others.¹ Jerotije Račanin was accompanied on his pilgrimage in 1704 by Gligoruji and Visarion, *ieromonachi* (ιερομόναχοι, i. e. monks in priests' orders) from the monastery of Rakovica, Salaći and Pavo of Belgrade, Stanoje and Jovan Paranosić of Irig in Srem (Sirmia), and Neda, the wife of Stanoje.²

The departure of the pilgrims was a solemn function at which a large concourse of people assisted. On the day appointed for their farewell, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated in the church and attended by all who were about to set out for the Holy Land. After church, the priests in their vestments, bearing in their hands the Book of the Gospels, ikons, and crosses, preceded by the banners of the church and followed by a great crowd, amid the pealing of all the church bells, accompanied the pilgrims to the end of the town. There, a final prayer was said, and the pilgrims took their leave and departed. Wherever they passed on their way, they were solemnly welcomed. In every place they visited the church for prayer. In every place they were joined by fresh bands of pilgrims, amid renewed solemn farewell celebrations.

The journey to the Holy Land cost much time, money, and toil, and therefore it was not everybody who could think of undertaking it ; but every one sought even in his own home to come into touch with the shrines of Palestine. Therefore, every one sent offerings by the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, either in money or in kind, if only a candle to be lighted at the Sepulchre of our Lord.

At Easter-tide Serbs from all parts of the Serbian land were to be seen in Palestine. The pilgrim caravans, each under the direction of its own leader, travelled like cranes or storks on their migrations. Their parties sometimes included whole families, husbands, wives, and children. All were furnished with provisions and other necessities : across the backs of camels and asses were slung bags full of oddments and utensils of the most varied sort. Not fearing the weariness of a journey of hundreds

¹ *Glasnik S. Uč. Društva* xxxiii pp. 185 sq.

² *Ibid.* xxxi p. 297.

of hours, trudging steadily from dawn till dusk, through rain and scorching sunshine, and spending the night under the open sky, the pious pilgrims had no care but to arrive as quickly as might be at their goal. Among them were old men who would not die till they had worshipped at the Tomb of our Lord; women and young girls who desired to lead the 'sweet and God-pleasing life'; and children, just able to walk, whom their parents led by the hand so that they might learn how to suffer by this pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where our Lord suffered and died.

Beneath the walls of Jerusalem each party halted and waited for those who had fallen behind, so that all might enter the city together. During this pause one of the guards at the Bethlehem Gate, through which the pilgrims were wont to enter, went to notify their arrival to the Governor and to obtain authorization for their admission. Each pilgrim had to pay a tax of four paras at his entrance into Jerusalem, and the same sum on leaving the city.

The pilgrims alighted at a Serbian or Russian monastery, where they remained as guests for two days. On the third day all pilgrims were called upon to make an offering to the monastery, each according to his condition. After that, each found himself a private lodging.

When they were somewhat rested, the pilgrims began their visits to the famous sites, churches, monasteries, and other shrines, Gethsemane, Bethany, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the rest, taking care to be in Jerusalem for the Great Week, during which the proper offices were celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. If any Serbian prelates were among the pilgrims they assisted the Patriarch in the celebration of them.

On Holy Saturday, the Great Sabbath, before Evensong, the Patriarch of Jerusalem passed three times round the Holy Sepulchre with unlighted tapers in his hand. Then he entered the Sepulchre closing the gates behind him, and remained there for half an hour; after which he returned with the tapers now lighted, supposed to have been kindled supernaturally by the power of the Holy Spirit. These he distributed, first to the dignitaries around him, and then to the other pilgrims. This is the

famous Holy Fire, of which we hear so much in Serbian popular tradition.¹

When Easter was past, the Hadžis returned home, or continued their visits to the Holy Places as long as they pleased.

The return of the Hadžis was a solemn affair. On the day of their arrival they were met by the clergy and the people, as they had been accompanied by them at their departure. On the spot where they met a prayer was said, and then all went to the church in a body. In important towns cloths were laid down before the church doors for the entrance of the Hadžis.

From the Holy Land the Hadžis brought back all kinds of gifts which they presented to the churches and to their friends. St Sava is said to have brought back the Ikon of the Theotokos 'with the Three Hands', from the Monastery of St Sabbas the Sanctified, whither it was supposed to have been brought by St John of Damascus himself. This ikon is preserved in the Serbian Monastery of Hilendar on Mount Athos.² At the same time he brought many sacred relics, vestments, sacred vessels, and 'throughout Palestine, whenever he found something sacred and holy, he bought it so as to bring it back to his own country'.³ Hadži-Ruvim brought back church books and presented them to his monastery.⁴ Others brought ikons, crosses, rosaries, wreaths of flowers, and other memorials. Serbian monasteries, churches, and houses, are full of all kinds of sacred objects of amber, mother-of-pearl, bone, and wood, and ikons, large and small, on paper or linen (or some woven material), pebbles, shells, and so forth, which have been brought from the Holy Places, and are therefore piously treasured. All these gifts, before being taken home, are laid by the Hadži on the Tomb of Christ to be hal-
lowed. Already St Sava did this with the gifts he sent from Jerusalem to his friend Spiridon, Iguman of Studenica.⁵

¹ The Serbian Metropolitan Michael of Banja, Kratovo, Štip, and Radomir, in Macedonia, who was in Jerusalem in 1657, says: 'I tried to investigate this fire. It burned just like any other ordinary flame, but how it was ignited in the Sepulchre of our Lord, I do not know, because they would not let me go in' (*Glas S. K. Akademije* lviii p. 256).

² The *Tricherosa* ikon is in fact probably of the 14th century, and 'seems to be a Serbian or Bulgarian work of art' (C. Diehl *Manuel de l'Art Byzantin* p. 782).

³ 'Putešestvija Svjatago Savi' (in *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik* ii 1884); *Spomenik* iii p. 97.

⁴ Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 3706.

⁵ *Starine Jugoslovenske Akademije* iv p. 231.

There are yet other matters which reveal the links between the Serbian people and the Holy Land. The Serbian lands were always open as a refuge for the monks and holy men who were compelled by the tyranny and cruelty of the infidels to fly from Palestine to other lands. In Serbia we find many traditions of *Sinaici* or *Sinaiti* who fled there, either singly or in parties, and led the 'God-pleasing life' (as it was called) and remained in the country all their lives. In many places are still shewn the caves where they led their hermit lives, where they wrought their miracles, and where they breathed their last. Several monasteries in Serbia, according to popular tradition, were erected over the graves of these hermits. Thus the Monastery of St Roman on the Morava was erected over the grave of St Romilo the Sinaite. Prince Lazar, at the end of the 14th century, erected the Monastery of Gornjak on the Mlava over the grave of St Gligorije the Sinaite. And similarly, Miloš Obilić built the Monastery of Tuman over the grave of St Zosimos the Sinaite.¹ Between the village of Senje and the Monastery of Ravanica, in the department of Morava, is a rock with a small cave, in which, according to the tradition of the neighbouring villages, St Andrew, one of the seven Sinaites who escaped from Sinai to Serbia, lived as a hermit, while he preached to the people and instructed them in the Christian life.²

The Jerusalem monasteries had 'cells' (*metoh*, μετόχιον) in various places in Serbian lands, where lived one or two monks from Jerusalem and received alms for their monastery, and acted as guides to pilgrims to the Holy Land. In the 17th century the Patriarch of Jerusalem had his *metoh* even among the Serbs of Budapest.³

Under the pressure of adverse conditions in Palestine the monks of that country (*Božogropci* or *Ferusalimci*, as the Serbs called them) came in numbers to Serbia to beg alms for their monasteries. From our records we learn that even in the days of their direst distress, when they were themselves flying before the Turks, the people of Serbia gave as much as they were able to the monasteries of the Holy Land. Even from the Serbian

¹ *Glasnik Srpskog Ucenog Društva* xxxi pp. 57, 60.

² *Karadžić* (the Serbian Folk-lore Review), 1899, pp. 219 sq.

³ *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* lviii p. 226.

refugees in Budapest, S. Andreas, Komoran, Baja, and throughout Hungary, these monks from Palestine did not return empty-handed. Thus, in 1640, the then Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, wrote to the Serbs in Budapest, begging them to continue to bestow alms upon the Holy Sepulchre for the future as they had done hitherto.¹ In the Serbian state-archives in Belgrade we find evidence that within the last hundred years, since she regained her freedom, Serbia has sent substantial sums of money to the Holy Sepulchre.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Serbia was honoured by a visit from a Patriarch of Jerusalem in person. From an entry in 1654, we learn that in that year, 'in the days of Kir Gavriilo, the Serbian Patriarch of Ipek (Peć), and Kir Ilarion, Metropolitan of Belgrade and Srem (Sirmia)', the 'Patriarch of Jerusalem, Kir Pajsej (Paΐsios), came to the land of Serbia' and stayed at the Monastery of Krušedol.²

The veneration cherished by the Serbian people for the Holy Land and their faith in it, have not failed to leave their mark in literature. Unfortunately, our Palestine literature, like everything else, has been only partially preserved, and it is impossible to speak fully about it.

The earliest Serbian literary production dealing with the Holy Land is a letter written by St Sava from Jerusalem in 1235 to his friend Spiridon, Iguman (ἡγούμενος, abbot) of Studenica. It is a beautiful letter, full of piety and of love for the friends he had left behind in Serbia. St Sava writes to Spiridon that by God's help he has reached the Holy City, that he has worshipped the Holy Sepulchre; that he has visited the Holy Places; that then he and all his company fell sick; and he sends to the abbot and the brother-monks his blessing and begs them to remember him in their prayers. Then he tells him that he is sending him a cross and a girdle, which have been laid on the Holy Sepulchre, and a kerchief with which he had been presented there, and a precious piece of stone that he found there. Finally, he says that he desires to go to Alexandria and thence to Mount Sinai; and he hopes to return to Serbia in the spring.

There must have been many descriptions of the journey to the

¹ *Glasnik*, 2nd series, iii p. 34.

² Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 1510.

Holy Land and back in our Serbian literature. Very few of them have been preserved, and those for the most part only fragmentary. The oldest are those which describe the journeys of St Sava in 1229 and 1235, composed by his disciples and biographers.¹ Then there is the *Diary of the Patriarch Arsinje III Čarnojević of his journey to Jerusalem* in 1683²; the *Journey of Ferotije Račanin* in 1704³; and the *Description of the Travels of Ante Kalimanac*.⁴

There are a few modern descriptions of travel, the most important being that which describes the journey of King Milan.⁵

Descriptions of the Holy Land and its localities are also to be found in Serbian literature. In a paper MS *Collectanea* of the 17th or 18th century is contained an article 'On Jerusalem'⁶; in another MS, belonging to the first half of the 17th century, there is a 'Journey to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, and the number of halting-places by the way'⁷; in another 17th century MS we find a 'Description of the Holy Places', a guide, in fact, to Palestine, with twenty-seven quaint primitive illustrations of churches and cities⁸; then we have the 18th century 'Tales of Jerusalem and the other Holy Places'⁹; and finally a 'Description of Jerusalem' in a MS dated 1792.¹⁰

Besides these MSS there are also extant several printed books about Palestine and its cities.¹¹

¹ 'Puteštvija Sv. Savi, arkepiškopa serbskago' in *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik* ii, 1884.

² *Glasnik S. Uč. Društva* xxxiii pp. 184-190.

³ *Ibid.* xxxi pp. 292-311.

⁴ *Vesnik Srpske Crkve*, 1900.

⁵ Mih. Rašić *Sa Nj. V. Kraljem Milanom na Istoku* i-ii. Belgrade 1899.

⁶ Lj. Stojanović *Katalog Narodne Biblioteke* (Catalogue of the National Library) iv p. 110.

⁷ *Glasnik S. Uč. Društva* xxv pp. 32-33.

⁸ 'Serbskoe opisanie Svjatih Mest, pervoj polovini, xvii vek', edited by Lj. V. Stojanović in *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik* v, St Petersburg 1886 (in Russian).

⁹ Lj. Stojanović *Katalog Narodne Biblioteke* iv p. 399.

¹⁰ Lj. Stojanović *Katalog rukopisa i starih štampanih knjiga S. K. Akademije* (Catalogue of MS and early printed books in the Royal Academy) p. 209.

¹¹ *Description of Jerusalem, the Holy City of God, the Church of the Living Tomb of the Lord, and the other Holy Places* (in Serbian), Vienna 1772, new edition 1781; Vasije Verdis *Short summary of biblical and ecclesiastical geography and plan of Jerusalem with nine maps*, Belgrade 1852; *Description of Palestine*, translated from German by Dr V. M., Belgrade 1852; Konstantin Mihailović *Description of Jerusalem, the City of God*, Belgrade 1852; A. E. Metropolitan Michael *The Christian Shrines in the East*, Novi Sad 1886.

Old Serbian literature contains many devotional books and poems on Palestine; as for instance *The Word of Deborah and how she delivered Jerusalem from the war* (a MS of the 15th and 16th centuries)¹; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*²; and *The Word of the prophet Jeremiah concerning the desolation of Jerusalem*.³ This literature was very popular in Serbia. In 1834 Milovan Vidaković published a poem *The Journey to Jerusalem*, and in 1841 Vukašin Radišić translated the *Discourse upon the Holy Fire or the Sanctuary in Jerusalem*⁴ from the Greek. Another popular work existing only in MS was the *Epistle of the Lord God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, as it was sent from Heaven to the Holy City of Jerusalem and Holy Zion. Praise be to the Father*.⁵ This *Epistle*, in which man is told how to live so that he may joyfully look forward to the Last Judgement, has been frequently transcribed, even in quite modern times.

Finally, besides descriptions of travel and descriptions of the Holy Land, and besides devotional works on the subject, the Serbs have had yet other literary connexions of various kinds with the Holy Land. Very early in the Middle Ages, Serbia seems to have realized the significance of Palestine as the centre of Christian culture. One of the disciples and biographers of St Sava, as we have already seen, tells us how, already, on his first journey through the Holy Land, Sava bought the Monastery of St John Baptist from the Saracens. It is unfortunate that so little has survived to tell us of the activity of this centre of Serbian culture in Palestine, and the influence of Palestine on the culture of Serbia in general and on her literature in particular. What is known is, that in the 13th century the *Typikon of Jerusalem* was translated into Serbian. Several copies of this work, both on paper and on parchment, have been preserved.⁶ We also know that several books were translated in Palestine for the use of the Serbian Church. In 1374 the 'hieromonah and sinner' Janikije made a copy of a *Triod* (Τριώδιον) for the

¹ Lj. Stojanović *Catalogue of MSS and early printed books in the Royal Academy* p. 190.

² Lj. Stojanović *Katalog Narodne Biblioteke* iv p. 273.

³ *Ibid.* 266; *Starine Jugosl. Akademije* viii p. 40.

⁴ Lj. Stojanović *Catalogue of MSS . . . in the Royal Academy* p. 222.

⁵ Lj. Stojanović *Katalog Narodne Biblioteke* iv p. 365.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 201.

Serbian Monastery of SS. Michael and Gabriel in Jerusalem.¹ During the Turkish domination in the Serbian lands, when the Serbian homes of letters and learning were broken up and Serbian books destroyed and scattered, the copying of Serbian books in Palestine proceeded even more actively. Thus, in 1604 books were copied in Jerusalem for the Monastery of Tronoša in Serbia; in 1607 a *Psaltir* was copied in Jerusalem, and a *Molitvenik* in 1622 on Sinai.² In 1775 the ieromonah Ruvim of Babina Luka brought back from Jerusalem a *Žitija* (Lives of the Saints) in two volumes, a Bible (containing Old and New Testaments), and an 'Exposition of the Apostle', in two volumes, from St John Chrysostom on the Epistles of St Paul.³

These then, in brief, are the relations in which the people of Serbia have stood to the Holy Land. It seems to me that they are neither so few nor insignificant, and I think I am justified in speaking of them to-day in the great hour of the deliverance of Palestine and its Holy Places. The Crown Prince of Serbia has just conferred on the British General, Sir Edmund Allenby, the Liberator of Jerusalem, the highest Serbian decoration, the Order of the White Eagle with swords. By this token of appreciation bestowed upon this brilliant General, who has performed a deed of historical importance, the Serbian Crown Prince has proved true to the traditional interest and veneration of our Serbian princes, clergy, and people, for the Sepulchre of our Lord and the Holy Land.

T. R. GEORGEVICH.

¹ Lj. Stojanović *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* no. 144.

² *Ibid.* nos. 932, 956, 1581.

³ *Ibid.* no. 3706.

In the year 1883 Cardinal Pitra published ten extracts from the documents of the Synod of Antioch which condemned Paul of Samosata, in a Syriac rendering.¹ The first five are from the Encyclical Epistle, and are given in the order in which they appeared in it, the sixth is from the same source, the seventh, eighth, and ninth are from the *Acta Disputationis*, and the tenth from the Creed.² Unfortunately these extracts did not come to my notice till after my paper on the Sayings of Paul of Samosata in the October number of *J. T. S.* had been published. I propose now to shew the extent to which they illustrate or supplement the conclusions reached in it. I follow the order of the fragments collected in my previous paper, and occasionally refer to its pages.

This fragment is referred to in Pitra no. 3, which contains two paragraphs of a passage in the Epistle in which apparently the Synod commented on various testimonies from the Old Testament. The first seems to have been based on Isa. vii 14; the second interprets Micah v 1 (2) as predicting that the Word whose goings forth were from everlasting should go forth from Bethlehem, and then proceeds to paraphrase a saying of Paul:—

'And again, that Jesus Christ was born from Mary, but the Word from God.'

¹ J. B. Pitra *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata* vol. iv pp. 183-186: Latin rendering pp. 423-425. The extracts are preserved in the British Museum MSS Add. Syr. 12154, 12155, 14533, 14538.

² See Routh *Rel. Sac.*² iii 367.

³ This is immediately preceded by the words **وَمِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الَّذِينَ** 'Besides these things in opposition to this teacher of heresies said.' Probably a saying of Paul which followed this clause has fallen out of the text.

This summary confirms the accuracy of the text of frag. i in the clause *ὁς ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, on which I have elsewhere laid stress (p. 42). The connexion in which, as we now learn, it stood in the Epistle suggests that *τῷ ἐκ Δαυὶδ γεγεννημένῳ* is Paul's gloss—supported by some modern commentators—on the closing words of Micah v 1 (2).

It should be noted that the first paragraph of the extract betrays the hand of a later editor in two places. It states that Immanuel was of two natures, the Divinity of the Word, and the body which was endowed with a rational soul (ܡܢ ܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܪܥܝܢܐ). The last phrase occurs also, as we shall see, in Pitra no. 1. But elsewhere it is said that Christ was composed of the Logos and the human body, no mention being made of the soul. See, e.g., the second paragraph of this extract, and Pitra nos. 1 (par. 2), 5, 7, 9, 10. Again, reference is made to followers of Paul who to this day (ܗܘܼܐ ܗܘܼܐ ܗܘܼܐ) are infected with his opinions. Here at least the words 'to this day' must be a later insertion.

FRAGMENT II.

Pitra no. 4 runs thus :—

[illegible]

‘But now it is meet for us to intimate this, that he separates as two the Word and Jesus Christ; as to whom (*sc.* Jesus Christ) he has indicated both that he was weary and that he slept and that he hungered: albeit he idly says that His whole being suffered these things, for previously he affirmed that the Word is in the whole man.’

This extract quotes two sayings of Paul, the second of which was in an earlier part of the *Acta* than the first. The second, which I have not found elsewhere, is suitably placed after—perhaps not immediately after—*ἐν ναῶ* in frag. ii l. 11. There accordingly we may insert some such words as

ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ.

The first seems to be another report of the words a paraphrase of which is placed within brackets in frag. ii ll. 11, 12. If so, it is probably, as far as it goes, a more exact representation of what Paul actually said, for the Epistle is obviously a better witness in such matters than Theodorus of Raithu.

و ده ای و صحتنا ارجو به خدا سقصد! احوال: الا وههله
اسم الحضره و معصمه ههلهله.

Compare frag. ii ll. 9-11. We have here again the interpolated reference to the rational soul.

τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ καθολικοὶ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κανόνες· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν μετεσχηκέναι σοφίας ἐμπνεούσης ἔξωθεν, καὶ ἄλλης οὔσης παρ' αὐτοῖς· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν σοφίαν δι' ἐαυτῆς ἐπιδεδημηκέναι οὐσιωδῶς ἐν τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας σώματι.

In Leontius this is a continuation of the passage quoted under frag. v (p. 28), which, like the first sentence of the present extract, refers to frag. ii. There it is obviously in its proper place, the word τοῦτο pointing back to the statement of Paul quoted immediately before. In the extract before us there is nothing to which it can refer. It seems therefore that the two sentences of the extract are distinct passages of the Epistle.

Pitra no. 9 gives from the *Acta* the exact statement of Paul represented in the second part of this fragment, which I have printed from Malchion's paraphrase, as translated by Peter the Deacon. It runs thus :—

(a) $\frac{1}{2} \log 2$: لا صحیح : لا صحیح / صحیح.

'The Word cannot become compounded, lest it should forsake its¹ glory.'

(b) سہ ماہی و کھیتی باڑی

'God forbid that it should be compounded and mingled.'

After (a) comes Malchion's short rejoinder,

لا / فهد : مذكر / مفعول به.

'No, there is composition—the Word and its body.'

¹ Syr. 'his'; probably a mistranslation of αὐτοῦ, referring to ὁ λόγος. Similarly on pp. 4, 5 the pronouns referring to **هو** are masculine.

After (b) follows Malchion's remark,

مجلسه لا څا له ښه وړه وړه : ولا ښه وړه وړه
مجلسه ښه وړه وړه.

‘On this account you will not confess composition, lest you should say that the Son of God is essentially (οὐσιωδῶς) in His body.’

This is the second sentence of Malchion's comment on Paul's saying, as reported by Peter (p. 29). There is nothing in it corresponding to Peter's 'sed sapientia secundum participationem'. It agrees more closely, however, that Peter's rendering with the parallel passage of the Epistle (p. 30) inasmuch as it has the equivalent of *ἐν σώματι* instead of 'in eo'.

Of the latter passage there is a translation in Pitra no. 6 :—

جميعهال ١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩١٠١١٢١٣١٤١٥١٦١٧١٨١٩٢٠٢١٢٢٢٣٢٤٢٥٢٦٢٧٢٨٢٩٣٠٣١٣٢٣٣٣٤٣٥٣٦٣٧٣٨٣٩٤٠٤١٤٢٤٣٤٤٤٥٤٦٤٧٤٨٤٩٥٠٥١٥٢٥٣٥٤٥٥٥٦٥٧٥٨٥٩٦٠٦١٦٢٦٣٦٤٦٥٦٦٦٧٦٨٦٩٧٠٧١٧٢٧٣٧٤٧٥٧٦٧٧٧٨٧٩٨٠٨١٨٢٨٣٨٤٨٥٨٦٨٧٨٨٨٩٩٠٩١٩٢٩٣٩٤٩٥٩٦٩٧٩٨٩٩١٠١١١٢١٣١٤١٥١٦١٧١٨١٩٢٠٢١٢٢٢٣٢٤٢٥٢٦٢٧٢٨٢٩٣٠٣١٣٢٣٣٣٤٣٥٣٦٣٧٣٨٣٩٤٠٤١٤٢٤٣٤٤٤٥٤٦٤٧٤٨٤٩٥٠٥١٥٢٥٣٥٤٥٥٥٦٥٧٥٨٥٩٦٠٦١٦٢٦٣٦٤٦٥٦٦٦٧٦٨٦٩٧٠٧١٧٢٧٣٧٤٧٥٧٦٧٧٧٨٧٩٨٠٨١٨٢٨٣٨٤٨٥٨٦٨٧٨٨٨٩٩٠٩١٩٢٩٣٩٤٩٥٩٦٩٧٩٨٩٩

This agrees exactly with the Greek of Leontius except that it omits μάθησιν καί and οὐσιωμένην ἐν σώματι.¹

FRAGMENT VIII.

This fragment, as I have printed it, consists of no more than four words taken from Leontius's sixth extract from the Epistle, and it is obviously a mere paraphrase. In Pitra no. 8 the full text of the saying is translated from the *Acta* :—

[illegible]

‘Jesus Christ who was of Mary was joined to Wisdom and became one with it, and by means of it became Son and Christ.’² For he [Malchion?] said that Jesus Christ was the Son of God who suffered, who endured buffeting on the cheeks and stripes, who was buried and

¹ Pitra conceals the resemblance by translating ܡܠܥܝܬܐ by *amicitiam*. The word ܡܠܥܝܬܐ is the regular equivalent of *συνάφεια* in Nestorian theology.

² Pitra, no doubt following the MS, punctuates 'became one, with it and by means of it, he became', &c.

It will be observed that there is here a distinct pronouncement that Jesus Christ was Son. For the importance of this see p. 34.

I have now to ask attention to a new saying of Paul, which I may designate as

(محکمہ حسد و مہ لا مخیرم: ہند ۱۵۱۱ خلا ۱۵۱۱ مہملا ۱۵۱۱)

The evidence for this saying is in the following speech of Malchion, translated from the *Acta* (Pitra no. 7) :—

[illegible]

'Concerning the *gnoma* of our Saviour it is right to think thus: that the Word when alone, while it was not incarnate, had not need of the Holy Spirit, for the Spirit received of it; and it was not passing under law. But because it was united essentially (*οὐσιωδῶς*) to its human body, as for the things which were happening to Him, it is as though He himself suffered them because of the composition and essential union (of the body) with Him.'

Assuming that Malchion is here combating a doctrine of his opponent, it seems clear that he would have regarded the words printed above as a sufficient statement of it. But it cannot be claimed that they approximate in the form of expression to any single utterance of Paul; they may represent a whole group of his sayings in summary fashion, and possibly not with absolute fairness. We may reasonably infer, however, from Malchion's argument that Paul held the Logos to be distinct from, and in some measure subordinate to, the Holy Spirit. But it must be remembered that another saying has led us to believe that he made the Holy Spirit inferior to the Logos (p. 41).

It may here be remarked that the foregoing investigation confirms Harnack's favourable opinion regarding the series of extracts on which it is based.¹ He pointed out that nos. 1, 2, 6 are in agreement with Leontius's extracts from the Epistle; we now know that no. 9 is in agreement with an extract preserved by Petrus Diaconus,² and that nos. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9 have points of contact with known sayings of Paul of Samosata.³ If editorial revision must be admitted,⁴ there is reason to suppose that it was confined within narrow limits. On the whole Pitra's extracts seem to be of high value.

I take this opportunity to thank the Rev. F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E., for pointing out an error in my former paper. On pp. 31, 32 I stated that St Hilary, in the latter part of his *de Synodis* commented on a letter of some 'Gaulish bishops': I should have written 'Eastern bishops'. It is in fact clear that the letter was the document presented to the third Council of Sirmium in 358 by Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste and Eleusius of Cyzicus, who acted as delegates of the Council of Ancyra held earlier in the same year.⁵ Their testimony as to the proceedings at Antioch is more reliable than that of any bishops of Gaul could have been; and we are expressly told by Sozomen that their letter contained the decrees against Paul and Photinus.⁶ My argument therefore regarding the use of the word *ἡμετέριον* by Paul, so far as it is based on St Hilary's statements, is considerably strengthened by Mr Puller's correction.

H. J. LAWLOR.

¹ *Die Überlieferung u. der Bestand der altch. Litt.* p. 522; *Chronologie der altch. Litt.* ii p. 135 note.

² See p. 117.

³ Pp. 115-118.

⁴ Pp. 116, 117.

⁵ Hil. *de Syn.* 77, 81, 90; Sozomen *H. E.* iv 13, 15.

⁶ Sozomen, *l. c.*

THE EARLIEST LIST OF DURHAM MSS.

FOR the reconstruction of the Library of the Church of Durham during the Middle Ages there is fortunately abundant material: and it was made for the most part accessible to students in one of the earliest volumes of the great series of Northern records which still pursues its beneficent career—Surtees Society, vol. vii (1838), '*Catalogi veteres librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm.*' But the Surtees edition, though so far as I can judge the transcription was very accurately done, suffers from more than one drawback. There is no adequate reproduction of the complete series of the documents in chronological order—the list with which I am on the present occasion concerned is to be found in an appendix (p. 117): there is hardly any attempt made to distinguish between the original hand and the correcting hands of the lists: and there is no conspectus of the different documents in their mutual relation to one another. Therefore, great as were the services of the Surtees editor, there is much that remains to be done. I cannot hope to do more than to call attention to the opportunity, to make a small contribution on my own account, and to express the desire that at least the second catalogue in the following series will be made the subject of further treatment, perhaps for the Surtees Society, by some more competent mediaevalist than myself.

In order to make these notes intelligible, it will be necessary to commence with a sketch (I dare say imperfect enough) of the extant material, so far as it has fallen under my own notice.

I. The earliest list, and that of which I am here making a study, is a catalogue, not of the monastic library as a whole, but of the volumes presented by the founder of the present Cathedral Church, the illustrious bishop William of St Carileph, who was consecrated in 1081 and died in 1109.¹ The list of his donations is contained on the fly-leaf of one of them, namely, the second of the two volumes containing the Bible, under the title '*Ista sunt nomina librorum quos dominus Willelmus episcopus sancto Cuthberto dedit*'. The items are written continuously, not on separate lines, but each item (or set of items, where there is more than one of the same author) is separated from the next by a sign like Γ. The list is printed below in full, and followed by such notes as I could make on the individual books, with the special object of tracing the history of the volumes in the later catalogues.

¹ During three years of his episcopate, under William Rufus, he was in exile in Normandy.

II. Last in the list of William of St Carileph's gifts is a book called 'Martyrologium et Regula'. Of this precious volume, still preserved in the Library, the nucleus may be considered a sort of official manifesto of the movement initiated by the Norman prelates, with Lanfranc at their head, for the introduction of the complete Benedictine system and rule into English monastic Churches: its most important contents being the Constitutions 'selected from the customs of the most influential houses of the Benedictine Order', which Lanfranc imposed on the monastery of his own church of Canterbury, and the Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English.¹ William was doing at Durham the same work as Lanfranc at Canterbury: and the book thus sent by him was no doubt regarded by the convent during the following century as the charter, so to say, of their house and foundation, so that on vacant pages within its covers they recorded matters of official interest. In the kalendar were inserted the obits they wished to observe: on other pages the agreements for mutual prayers and commemorations with other monastic houses, and various papal or episcopal letters: on the first leaves of all a library catalogue. Practically the whole of the supplementary material is confined within the limits of the twelfth century: on the notation of the volume in the later catalogues see below, p. 131. Here we are only interested in the Catalogue: the date of the original hand must be about A.D. 1150, for among the volumes are works of St Bernard and of Gilbert de la Porrée, and a group headed 'Libri Laur(entii) prioris'. Laurence became Prior in 1149 and died in 1153: so that the list is certainly not earlier than 1149. But probably it was actually drawn up while Laurence was Prior, or at least immediately after his death, for a later insertion records the 'Libri Thomae prioris', and a Thomas was prior from 1158 to 1162.² Prior Laurence was himself an author, and it is not impossible that it was he who drew up this first known complete inventory of the Durham books. The catalogue is printed in the aforesaid Surtees volume of Durham catalogues, pp. 1-10, with scrupulous fidelity, so far as I could judge, but with no attempt at all to distinguish the original text from the numerous additions and corrections.³ I have cited this catalogue as Cat. II.

III. Bishop Hugh Pudsey, 1153-1195, a worthy successor of bishop William of St Carileph, was also a donor of books to the library of his Church. The list of them, headed 'habet etiam ecclesia ex dono dicti

¹ Compare the paper of Dr Armitage Robinson in *J. T. S.* for April 1909, x 375-388, especially p. 381.

² The hand is (I think) too early for the next Thomas, de Melsanby, 1233-1244.

³ From the middle of p. 7 to the middle of p. 8 in the Surtees text, and again the two sections 'Libri Guarini' and 'Libri Thomae prioris' on p. 9, are later.

Hugonis episcopi', taken from the earlier Surtees volume on 'Wills and Inventories', is repeated on p. 118 of the volume of Durham catalogues.

IV. But the principal source of our knowledge of the mediaeval library of Durham is the collection of catalogues contained in the volume marked B iv 45 in the present library. Apart from several smaller lists, the principal contents of this volume are (*a*) the books in the 'Spendiment' in 1391, see pp. 10-34 of the Surtees volume of 'Catalogi veteres': (*b*) the books in the cloister in 1395, *ib.* pp. 46-79¹: (*c*) the books in the 'Spendiment' in 1416, *ib.* pp. 85-116. At the end of the fourteenth century there were therefore two main repositories for books in the monastery: the original cupboards on the north wall of the cloister (list *b*), and the new supplementary library in the 'Spendiment' (lists *a* and *c*). Naturally we find that lists *a* and *c*, representing the same library, are substantially identical. But there is a further point of importance, duly noted on p. 85: list *c* was not drawn up in 1416, but was an older list, which was verified in 1416. The scribe of 1416 ratified with a dot in the margin such books—the large majority—as were still in the place assigned to them: to those that were not on the shelves he added notes such as 'in libraria', 'in clauistro', 'Oxon', the latter referring to the Durham College which had been founded at Oxford about 1300 under Prior Richard de Hoton. But the list on which this scribe of 1416 worked appears to be in an earlier hand than the 1391 scribe of list *a*, so that our original authorities for the later mediaeval classification of the library are not lists *a* and *b*, but lists *c* (original hand) and *b*. The distinguishing features of this later classification are that, whereas earlier lists give the books in a more or less continuous series, arranging them, so far as they arrange them at all, rather by donors than by subject-matter, the books now follow a rough system of subject and author, and those within each section are marked A, B, C, D, and so on. Instead, that is, of 'Libri quos magister Herebertus medicus dedit sancto Cuthberto', 'libri Laurentii prioris', 'Libri Guarini', and so on, the new divisions are 'Psalteria', 'Libri Augustini', 'Sermones', 'Libri Medicinæ', 'Libri Historiarum', or what not. Moreover, a ready test of identification is supplied by recording the first words on the second leaf of each volume, and it is often only from this record that we can derive the absolute proof that a particular volume now extant is the particular one that in the fourteenth century was arranged in such and such a place in the Durham library. Too often the inscription 'Liber sancti Cuthberti de Dunelmo' on the

¹ The cloister was the original home of the library (see Mr Hamilton Thompson's *English Monasteries*, Cambridge 1913, pp. 73, 74): the separate room called the 'Spendiment' was only added in the fourteenth century.

front page has been intentionally erased or removed, or accidentally lost,¹ and the '2nd folio' test supplies its place.

Text: from Durham MS A 11 4

ISTA SUNT NOMINA LIBRORUM · QUOS DOMNUS WILLELMVS EPI-
SCOPUS SANCTO CUTHBERTO DEDIT.

Bibliotheca · id est vetus et novum testamentum in duobus libris

Tres libri Augustini super psalterium

·I· de civitate Domini

·I· epistolarum eiusdem

·I· super evangelium Iohannis

Ieronimus super ·XII· prophetas

Epistolae eiusdem

Idem de Ebreis nominibus

Moralia Gregorii in duabus partibus

Liber pastoralis

·II·

Registri [Registrum, *corrected by the original hand*]

·XL· omeli

Beda super MARCUM et LUCAM

Rabbanus super MATHEUM

·II· libri sermonum et omeliarum

Decreta pontificum

Hystoriae Pompeii Trogi

Prosper de contemplativa et activa vita

Origenes super vetus testamentum

Iulius Pomerius

Tertullianus

Sidonius Sollius panigericus

Breviaria ·II (or v) [Breviarium ·I· ? m. 1]

·II· Antiph et ·I· Gradale

·II· libri in quibus ad matutinas legitur

Vitas patrum

Vita Egiptiorum monachorum

Diadema monach

Enchiridion Augustini

Gregorius super Ezechielem

Beda super Cantica Canticorum

Dialogus

Paradisus

¹ When a MS has been rebound in modern times the chances are very considerable that the margins have been largely reduced. Most of the early MSS still remaining at Durham have suffered mutilation of this sort.

R. Hystoria Anglorum

Ambrosius de Ioseph · de penitentia · de morte fratris

Libri confessionum sancti Augustini

·III· Missales

Martyrologium et regula

1. 2. A 'BIBLIOTHECA', or complete Bible of O. and N. T. in two folio volumes. It is in the second of these two volumes that the present catalogue of bishop William of St Carileph's gifts of books to the monastery is written. The volumes head the list of Catalogue II, and they are twice named in Catalogue 1395 (under the letters G and H respectively), first in the general inventory, and again among the books that lie 'in almariolo iuxta introitum ad infirmariam pro lectura in refectorio, et ponuntur sparsim inter alios libros in inventario praecedenti' (Surtees, pp. 50, 80). The second volume is still in the library, under the press-mark A 11 4: the first volume has unfortunately disappeared. But we learn that a 'certain treatise on Accent' was prefixed to the beginning of the volume: and the second leaf commenced with the words 'sementem secundum'.
- 3-5. AUGUSTINE: ON THE PSALMS: in three folio volumes. Also in Cat. II nos. 21-23 'Tria volumina sancti Augustini super Psalterium' and in Cat. 1395, under *Libri Augustini*, as I, K, and L (Surtees, p. 60). The two last parts, on Psalms 51-150, are still in the Library, with press-mark B 11 13 and B 11 14: each of them contains (see Rud's printed Catalogue of the Durham MSS, p. 111) a set of verses recording the bishop's order for the book and the scribe's name, the second volume being written by the monk Robert Benjamin and the third by William, a homonym of the bishop's, during the latter's exile (A.D. 1090-1093). No doubt the first volume, which is no longer in the Library, had some similar dedicatory verses: its second leaf began 'pro eo dictum est'. The second of these books and the next two, nos. 6 and 7, bear the inscription 'Liber sancti Cuthberti'.
6. AUGUSTINE: DE CIVITATE DEI: in one folio volume. In Cat. II there were two copies, 'duo paria', of this work, nos. 27, 28, our volume being doubtless one. In Cat. 1395 it appears in the Augustine section under the letter D (fol. 2 'sic [ab] alienigenis'), and has now the press-mark B 11 22.
7. AUGUSTINE: EPISTLES: in one folio volume; no. 42 in Cat. II, N in the Augustine section of Cat. 1395 (fol. 2 'ruptibili anima'), B 11 21 in the present arrangement. The volume contains 142 epistles.
8. AUGUSTINE: ON ST JOHN. One of two copies, 'duo paria super

Iohannem', in Cat. II, nos. 25, 26: similarly either F (fol. 2 'ab eo quod scriptum est') or G (fol. 2 'hoc dicetis quia ego') in Cat. 1395 (Surtees, p. 59), and either B II 17 or B II 16 of the existing library. Of the two MSS Rud declares for B II 17, = F of Cat. 1395, as the St Carileph book, no doubt rightly. The other, though of similar antiquity, is of a squarer type of handwriting than the St Carileph books, and has more magnificently illuminated initial pages and a more marked and elaborate type of initial letters with figures, possibly foreign.

9. JEROME: ON THE MINOR PROPHETS: in one folio volume. No. 13 in Cat. II; G in the Jerome section of Cat. 1395 (Surtees, p. 58), 'Liber Explanacionum Ieronimi in xii Prophetas', fol. 2 'in fine'; B II 9 in the present library, inscribed 'Liber sancti Cuthberti de Dunelmo', and this is the form of inscription found in nos. 10, 11, 15, 18, 24, 39.
10. JEROME: EPISTLES: in one folio volume. No. 11 in Cat. II 'Epistolae sancti Ieronimi'; C among the Jerome books of Cat. 1395, 'Epistolae Hieronimi et Vita eiusdem', fol. 2 'differamus quod loqui': now B II 10. Contains about 120 letters, and at the end, in a different hand, an anonymous Life of Jerome.
11. JEROME: ON HEBREW NAMES: one vol. folio. In Cat. II probably no. 17 'Ieronimus de Hebreis nominibus' rather than no. 15 'Liber locorum Ieronimi': in Cat. 1395 it is E of the Jerome books, with a full enumeration of nearly thirty different items in the MS, fol. 2 'posuit eum in Paradysum': now B II 11, all in the same hand.
- 12, 13. GREGORY: MORALIA ON JOB: in two parts. Nos. 48-50 of Cat. II are 'Moralia Gregorii in duobus voluminibus, et tertia pars Moraliu in uno volumine': William of St Carileph's gift is obviously represented by nos. 48, 49. But before the Catalogue of 1395 the second part had been lost or transferred to some other locality, for among the Gregory books the only copy of a part of the Moralia is C 'xvi libri Moraliu beati Gregorii papae' fol. 2 'retur quamvis' (Surtees, p. 63): and this is identical with the present folio B III 10, containing the first 16 out of the 35 books of the Moralia. It is no doubt the first of bishop William's two volumes.
14. GREGORY: ON PASTORAL CARE. In Cat. II, no. 54 (in the middle of a group of volumes of Gregory), is 'Pastorale', and the same book recurs at the end of that list among the selections for reading at meals, 'Pastoralis, liber eximius'. But I can find no secure trace of it in the later Catalogues, where the only copies of the Pastoral Care (L and M: Surtees, p. 64) occur in composite,

presumably later, volumes. See, for an explanation of its disappearance, under no. 42.

- 15 (15 *b*?). GREGORY: REGISTER: two volumes. The scribe of the list originally wrote 'Registrum', and in fact none of our other Catalogues suggest the existence of more than a single copy of Gregory's Register: Cat. II, no. 53 'Registrum', Cat. 1395 (Surtees, p. 63) 'D. Registrum beati Gregorii, cum simbolo eiusdem in principio libri', fol. 2 'tentem Deum'; now the folio volume B III 9. The suspicion therefore arises that possibly the correction ·II· should really refer, not to the Registrum, but to the preceding book, the Liber Pastoralis, especially as both copies of the 'Pastoral Care' in the 1395 Catalogue are described as 'duo libri Pastoralium'.
16. GREGORY: HOMILIES. This copy of the well-known collection of the 40 Homilies of St Gregory on the Gospel is possibly one of the 'Omeliaria tria' of Cat. II, and may be identical with F among the Gregory group of 1395 (Surtees, p. 63) 'Omeliae beati Gregorii papae', fol. 2 'dabit spiritum bonum', as that in turn is identical with the present folio B III 11. But its handwriting is of a different and coarser type to most of bishop William's books, and it may be somewhat earlier.
17. BEDE: ON ST MARK AND ST LUKE. Presumably identical with Cat. II, no. 121, 'Beda super Marcum et Lucam', and Cat. 1395 'Libri Venerabilis Bedae . . . A. Beda super Marcum: quaedam ethimologia eiusdem de diversis nominibus, et ·vi· libri eiusdem super euuangelium Lucae', fol. 2 'Moysi testimonio' (Surtees, p. 64). It does not seem to have survived, at any rate at Durham.
18. RABANUS MAURUS: ON ST MATTHEW. No. 100 of Cat. II: A in the Rabanus group of Cat. 1395, fol. 2 'ra offerentibus' (Surtees, p. 67): B III 16 folio in the existing library.
- 19, 20. Two volumes of SERMONS AND HOMILIES. With no. 16 *supra* these may possibly make up the 'Omeliaria tria' of Cat. II, nos. 127-129. Again these two volumes may be the two apparently companion volumes of Cat. 1395 (Surtees, p. 76), A covering from Advent to Palm Sunday (fol. 2 'dibus tuis') and B from Palm Sunday to Advent (fol. 2 'dempnent convenit'): both were among the books 'in the cupboard by the entrance to the Infirmary, for reading in the Refectory' (Surtees, p. 81). The existing library contains two large Homiliaries of the appropriate age, A III 29, Easter to Advent, and B II 2, Christmas to Easter; but they are of different size and character from one another, so that it is impossible to regard them as companion volumes. Both are now defective at the commencement, so that we cannot employ the

- 'fol. 2' test of the 1395 Catalogue. But B 11 2 is of the St Carleph type, and is presumably one of the two volumes required.
21. **DECRETA PONTIFICUM.** No. 9, with identical title in Cat. II: possibly the 'Decreta Romanorum Pontificum', E in the section 'Decreta et Doctores super Decreta' of 1391 and 1416 (Surtees, pp. 35, 112), fol. 2 'dictum est', which is now no. 74 in the Library of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
 22. **POMPEIUS TROGUS.** Also in Cat. II: in Cat. 1391-1416, under the heading 'Libri diversi poetarum', we find 'A. Pompeius Trogus' (fol. 2 'pulsaque cui') and 'C. Pompeius Trogus, et Iustinus de re militari, et Tropius [i. e. Eutropius] de Romana Historia' (fol. 2 'cum hoc opus'); see Surtees, pp. 4, 31, 109. The Pompeius Trogus was no doubt only the epitome by Justin. No copy of these Histories is now in the Library.
 23. **PROSPER: ON THE ACTIVE AND CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE.** No. 43 in Cat. II; repeated at the end of the Catalogue among the books read 'ad Collationem'. It does not appear in any of the later Catalogues.
 24. **ORIGEN: ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.** With identical title, in Cat. II, no. 59, and in Cat. 1395 as A in a miscellaneous series of Fathers (Surtees, p. 72), fol. 2 'actus qui': now B III 1, folio. The MS contains translations of Homilies by Origen on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Judges, Canticles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel.
 25. **IULIUS POMERIUS.** Not under this name in Cat. II, but doubtless to be identified with no. 102 in that list, 'Prognosticon', since that was the name of Pomerius's best-known work. It appears again in Cat. 1395, under 'Libri diversi' (Surtees, p. 77) as 'F. Liber Pronosticorum', fol. 2 'vestri quanto'. But I find no later trace of it.
 26. **TERTULLIANUS.** There seems to be no copy of Tertullian in Cat. II, and it must therefore remain doubtful whether the copy of the *Apology* recorded in Cat. 1391-1416 (Surtees, pp. 31, 109: under 'Libri diversi poetarum') 'A. Apologicum Tertulliani cum Excerptis Canonum', fol. 2 'genitus eloquencia', can be the book given by bishop William. As however this latter copy contained also Excerpts of Canons, it is just possible that it is the book catalogued as 'Excerpta Canonum' simply, no. 10 in Cat. II. In any case it is not in the Library now. Two sixteenth-century editors of Tertullian, Gelenius and Pamelius, used English MSS of Tertullian which have now disappeared.
 27. **SIDONIUS SOLLIUS: PANEGYRICUS.** This means no doubt, as Dr M. R. James points out to me, the poems—of which the longer ones were in fact all Panegyrics—of C. Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris,

- the well-known letter writer and bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in the fifth century. Four copies of 'Sydonius' are enumerated in Cat. 1391-1416 (Surtees, pp. 31, 108).
- 28-34. Breviaries, antiphoners, a gradual, and two books from which readings were taken at Mattins.
35. LIVES OF THE FATHERS. The same title 'Vitae Patrum' appears at no. 97 of Cat. II. I had thought it might be the quarto volume now B IV 14, containing the lives of St Gregory, St Martin, St Nicholas, St Dunstan, and St Augustine, which in 1395 was one of the books—like William of Carileph's Bibles, see nos. 1, 2, *supra*—placed in the cupboard by the entrance to the Infirmary for reading in Refectory (fol. 2° 'probatur vixisse': Surtees, p. 80): the first hand of the MS extends to fol. 169, covering the material concerning St Gregory and St Martin, and is quite of the type of the Carileph books. But there was another book of the same title—or, to be more accurate, of the same erroneous title, 'Vitas patrum'—as William of St Carileph's volume, catalogued as D under 'Legenda et Vitae Sanctorum' (fol. 2 'teri quam gentiles'), Surtees, p. 54. And Dr James tells me that the title 'Vitae patrum' always signifies the collection of Lives of the Hermits, such as Roswey printed: cf. nos. 36 and 42.
36. LIVES OF EGYPTIAN MONKS. Among the books read at meal-time, according to Cat. II, was 'Effrem cum Vitis Egiptiorum': and it is possible, therefore, that the book which in the list of the Carileph books is called 'Vitae Egiptiorum monachorum' is identical with the book called 'Effrem', no. 95 in Cat. II. But nothing that can go back to the twelfth century is now to be found in the Library under any similar title: nor do the Catalogues of 1391 and 1395 seem to offer any help. See on no. 42.
37. DIADEMA MONACHORUM. This work by Smaragdus reappears under the same title as no. 98 in Cat. II, and was one of the books, according to the same catalogue, read at meals. In Cat. 1395 a copy of the book 'Liber Smaragdi, Diadema Monachorum' is recorded in the same volume with some of the works of St Isidore (Surtees, p. 65, 'Libri Ysidori A', fol. 2 'domino et filio'), and this volume is still in the Library, B II 33: but it is of more recent date than William of St Carileph. Another is recorded without the name of Smaragdus, following on Augustine's book 'de Vita et Honestate Clericorum': Surtees, p. 20.
38. AUGUSTINE: ENCHIRIDION. No. 40 in Cat. II is 'Encheridion Augustini'. There are, of course, copies of the book in the later Catalogues, but none can be identified with the book given by bishop William.

39. GREGORY: ON EZEKIEL. No. 57 in Cat. II, 'Gregorius super Ezechielem': and no doubt identical with Cat. 1395 'Libri Gregorii . . . I Gregorius super Ezechielem', fol. 2 'spiritus nec tangit' (Surtees, p. 64) = the present B IV 13.
40. BEDE: ON THE SONG OF SONGS. No. 120 in Cat. II 'Beda super Cantica Canticorum': but there seems to be no later trace of the book.
41. DIALOGUS: under the same title among the books for reading at meal-time in Cat. II. Doubtless the book referred to is the Dialogues of St Gregory, and, if so, it will be one of two copies 'Dialogi duo', mentioned in Cat. II as nos. 55 and 56: unless indeed 'Dialogi duo' is to be taken to mean a single copy of the Dialogues, containing two out of the four books. In any case no copy in the later catalogues appears to correspond with this volume.
42. PARADISUS: no. 114 in Cat. II 'Paradysus', and repeated in the list of meal-time books. Presumably this is the Latin version of the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, known as the 'Paradisus Heraclidis'—see Abbot Butler's *Lausiack History* i 59, and compare i 77 for a description of the Syriac book called the *Paradise*. I can find no trace of it in later catalogues.¹ Of course books read regularly in the refectory would be likely in course of time to get worn out.
43. HYSTORIA ANGLORUM. Doubtless Bede's *History of the English*, though I cannot explain the letter R, which in our list appears to be prefixed to the book.² No. 131 in Cat. II: perhaps preserved in the present B II 35. This MS B II 35 consists now of 13 items, some of them much later than the age of bishop William: but in the 1395 catalogue it only contained items 3–11—see the full list under the letter G in the section 'Libri Historiarum' (Surtees, p. 56: fol. 2 'sacerdotalis extiterit')—and it is possible that at an earlier period still items 3–5, namely, the *History of the English*, the *Life of Bede*, and the *Lives of the Abbots*, which are all by a single hand, perhaps as old as William's day, may have formed a complete and separate whole.
44. AMBROSE: ON JOSEPH, ON REPENTANCE, ON THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER. Probably identical with 'Ambrosius de patriarchis', no. 109 in Cat. II: for what is doubtless the same volume with William of St Carileph's book is catalogued in 1395 by a more

¹ Bernard in his *Catalogi Librorum* mentions a copy at Durham (Butler *Lausiack History of Palladius* i 60), but the MS to which he is no doubt referring, the present B III 8, is of too recent date for our purpose.

² Dr James suggests that it may mean 'Refectorium'.

exhaustive enumeration of separate items, of which the first four are 'Liber Ambrosii de patriarcha Ioseph: liber eiusdem de XII Patriarchis: duo tractatus eiusdem de poenitencia: duo sermones eiusdem de morte fratris.' This 1395 book, from its letter E and its 2nd fol. 'te filii patris' (Surtees, p. 57), can be shewn to be the present B II 6, the writing of which also suits the date required.

45. **AUGUSTINE: CONFESSIONS.** Nos. 29 and 30 in Cat. II are 'duo paria de Confessionibus S. Augustini'. In Cat. 1395 two volumes of St Augustine commence with the 'Confessions', R and AB (Surtees, pp. 61, 62): but both are extant, and one (B II 12) is certainly, the other (B IV 6) probably, later than the date of bishop William.

46-48. **Three MISSALS.**

49. **MARTYROLOGIUM ET REGULA.** There can be no doubt that this is the volume now marked B IV 24 in the Chapter Library, an extraordinarily interesting collection, consisting, apart from supplements, of the following items: (a) Kalendarium, (b) Martyrologium per anni circulum, (c) Evangelia in capitulo pronuntianda per annum, (d) Constitutiones Lanfranci archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, (e) Regula sancti Benedicti, (f) Idem Anglice.¹ In the 1391 and 1416 Catalogues it appears as A under the section 'Cronicae' (Surtees, pp. 30, 107): 'Martilogium. Consuetudines Dorbornensis Ecclesiae. Regula sancti Benedicti in Latino, et eadem Regula in Anglico.' Curiously enough, the 2nd folio is noted in the one as 'psalterium Petri', in the margin of the other as 'compleverunt'; the explanation is that 'psalterium Petri' is from the 2nd folio of the guard leaves (actually from the library catalogues, see above, p. 2), 'compleverunt' from the 2nd folio of the martyrologium, the first literary document, now fol. 13 a. The book is not, apparently, recorded in Cat. II.

Not counting liturgical books, there are thirty-nine volumes enumerated in this list of bishop William's donations. Out of the thirty-nine sixteen appear to be certainly, and another three not improbably, still preserved in the Chapter Library. There is hardly any other library in England (the Cathedral libraries of Worcester and Hereford are perhaps the two which could best come into comparison), and there are not many on the continent, which can shew so long a continuous history and have preserved so large a proportion of their earliest possessions.

¹ Most of these items, except c and d, are independent in the sense of not being written continuously, and the last has a separate numeration of quaternions. But they seem to be all contemporary.

St Cuthbert's church owed its relative immunity partly no doubt to its remoteness from the sphere of activity of the spoilers and collectors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly perhaps also to the local pride of the North-countrymen in the greatest of the North-country churches.

CUTHBERT H. TURNER.

AN ANCIENT PRAYER IN THE MEDIAEVAL EUCHOLOGIA.

ON the occasion of Cardinal Gasquet's fiftieth year of monastic profession, his brethren and collaborators in the Vulgate revision at S. Calisto in Trastevere published last year in his honour a booklet entitled *Alcuni scritti e brevi saggi di studii sulla Volgata*.¹ The last, but certainly not the least interesting, piece in this fasciculus does not concern the Vulgate; it comes from the hand of Mgr Giovanni Mercati, and is headed 'Una Preghiera antichissima degli Eucologi medievali'. The prayer in question is nothing but the Greek text of the prayer for the blessing of firstfruits in the so-called 'Egyptian Church Order', the rightful title of which document I believe to be *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. The prayer in Greek has long been in print in Goar's *Euchologion*—Paris (1647) p. 655, Venice (1730) p. 522. Goar took it from 'St Marci MS', that is, the oldest and best MS of the Greek Euchologion, Barberini gr. 336; but, as Mgr Mercati observes, either the editor or a copyist has silently taken several liberties with the text. Mgr Mercati now prints, side by side with Hauler's old Latin version, the true text of the Barberini MS, with correction only of a few erratic spellings. He records also in an apparatus criticus the readings of nine other Greek MSS, and takes note of the Oriental versions published by Mr Horner and of the pieces of the text preserved in the Apostolic Constitutions viii 40.

As the *Alcuni scritti* is a purely domestic publication, it will probably not come into the hands of many who would be glad to know of Mgr Mercati's important discovery; I have therefore asked him to allow me to draw attention to it in the JOURNAL and to make the substance of his paper more generally known.

The ten MSS employed by Mgr Mercati are as follows:—

1. Barber. gr. 336 (formerly III 55), saec. viii–ix (= B);
2. „ „ 293 (a palimpsest), saec. xii–xiii (= b₁);
3. „ „ 443 (apparently from the district of Otranto), saec. xiii (= o);
4. Ottobon. gr. 344, A. D. 1177 (= O);

¹ Roma, Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1917.

5. Vat. gr. 1072, saec. xii (but in an additional gathering saec. xiv-xv) (= b₂);
6. Vat. gr. 1552, saec. xiii (= b₃);
7. „ „ 1554 (Calabrian), saec. xii (= K);
8. „ „ 1833 ('dell' Italia meridionale'—'a quanto pare della scrittura'), saec. xi (if not x) (= M);
9. Sinait. 959 (Constantinople), saec. xi [Dmitrievski *Opisanie liturg. rukopisei* ii (1901) 45] (= C);
10. „ 966 (South Italy), saec. xii [Dmitrievski *op. cit.* 219] (= N).

In what follows I reprint the Greek text of B as in Mgr Mercati's article, adding his collation of the other Greek MSS. But I venture to make a few additions to his apparatus: (a) by taking somewhat fuller note of the Ethiopic, Arabic, and Sahidic versions; (b) by inserting the readings of AC viii 40, where these are to the point; (c) by recording the printed variants of Goar; and especially (d) by adding the readings of the *Testamentum Domini* (ii 16), which has the prayer in a form not differing greatly from that of the Latin version, and is therefore a valuable witness.

Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προσφερόντων καρποὺς νέους.

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι κύριε ὁ θεὸς
καὶ προσφέρομεν ἀπαρχὴν καρπῶν
οὓς ἔδωκας ἡμῖν εἰς μετάληψιν
5 τελεσφορῆσαι διὰ τοῦ λόγου σου
καὶ κελεύσας καρποὺς παντοδαποὺς

1. προσφέροντων] των π. (προσφερον b₁) N b₁; προσφέροντας C; φεροντας b₂ καρ-
τους νεους) καρπ(ον) νεον K Goar; καρⁿ νεων οιασεκπανοιδους: του κυ (scil. δεθωμεν)
sic b₁; απαρχας καρπων νεων Oo; καρπους παντοιας οπωρας C; + σταφυλλ(ην)· συκον·
ροα· ελεας· απιδιν· μηλων· δωρακινον· περσικον· δαμασκηνον· αμυγδαλ° M (cf. 15-16)
2. Ευχαριστούμεν] *praeem.* 'O God' Test. σοι] + 'at all times and also this day
(on) which' Test. κυριε (*etiam* sahid.)] om. lat. aeth. arab. Test. ο θεος] *ante*
Ευχαριστούμεν Test.; + ημων M K N O o b₁ 3. και] om. Test. προσφερομεν
(ωμεν B b₁ b₂ M K)] + σοι K Test. verss. απαρχην καρπων] απαρχας καρπους b₂ b₃;
καρπων (-ον ο) νεων απαρχην Oo; επι τη απαρχη των καρπων νεων N; 'the firstlings
(plur.) of these fruits' Test.; 'primitivas fructuum' lat. (sahid. [απαρχη] aeth.
arab. non liq.); + τοδε C; + ταδε (ut vid.) K; + των προσφερόντων N (? R. H. C.)
4. ους] αν M b₁; ον K (5-8. Const. Apost. viii ὁ πάντα τελεσφορῆσας διὰ τοῦ
λόγου σου καὶ κελεύσας τῇ γῇ παντοδαποὺς ἐκφῦσαι καρποὺς εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ τροφήν
ἡμετέρων 5. τελεσφορῆσαι (ita B; -ορησας M b₂ Goar; -ωρησας K; -ορισας b₁;
τελεσφορίας b₂) διὰ του λογου (τους λογους b₂ b₃) σου] διὰ του λ. σου τουτους τελεσφορη-
σαι Oo; 'having completed them by thy power and by thy word' Test.; 'per
verbum tuum enutrients ea' lat.; 'having perfected them by thy word' sahid.
(aeth. arab. non liq.) 6. και (*etiam* Const. Apost.)] om. O o lat. Test. κελεύσας]
+ τη γῇ K verss. Const. Apost.; + 'from the beginning of the making of the worlds
that the earth (should)' Test. καρπους παντοδαπους] + ευφυνει K; + βλαστῆσαι
Oo; παντοδαποὺς ἐκφῦσαι καρποὺς Const. Apost.; 'should bring forth varied fruits'

- εἰς εὐφροσίνην καὶ τροφήν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
καὶ παντὶ ζῳῷ.
ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμνουμέν σε ὁ θεὸς
10 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς εὐεργέτησας ἡμῖν
πᾶσαν κτίσιν πηλίκους καρποῖς
διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
δι' οὗ καὶ σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.
Εὐλογοῦνται δὲ καρποὶ τοιοῦτοι
15 σταφυλιν συκῷ ροα ἔλαια
μηλον ροδακινῷ περσικῷ δαμασκηνα.

In view of the importance of Test. it may be useful to add here a literal translation of the Syriac version of the prayer contained in this

Test. ; 'omnes fructus adferre' lat. ; 'to send forth all ("its various" aeth.) fruits' aeth. arab. sahid. 7. εὐφροσυνην (εφροσυνην B)] *praem.* 'profit and' sahid. τροφήν (τρεφήν B)] 'enjoyment' Test. τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (*ita* aeth. Test. Goar)] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους B ; τῶν ἀνθρώπων $b_2 b_3$ lat. ('hominum': at cf. 8) arab. ; 'of the genos of men' sahid. ; ἡμετέραν Const. Apost. 8. καὶ παντὶ ζῳῷ κ. π. ζῶν B ; κ. παντός ζῶν $K b_2 b_3$; 'and (of) all living creatures' arab. sahid. ; 'et omnibus animalibus' lat. aeth. Test. ; + ἐν πάσῃ γῇ Goar (9-10. Const. Apost. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν ἅπασιν ὑμνητὸς ὑπάρχεις τῆς εἰς πάντας εὐεργεσίας) 9. ἐν πᾶσιν] *post* ο θεός Goar ; ἐν τούτοις $M b_1 b_2 b_3$; ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν K lat. ('super his omnibus') ; ἐν τούτοις οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Oo ; 'by reason of these things' Test. ; 'for these and all other things' sahid. (arab. *similiter* ; aeth. *non liq.* : cf. 10) σε] *om.* $b_2 b_3$; σου τὴν μεγαλωσύνην καὶ τὸ κρατὸς Oo ο θεός] Χριστέ ο θεός ἡμῶν K ; κυριε ('O Lord') Test. 10. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς] ἐν οἷς Oo ; εἰς K ; ε. π. ο κυριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ θεός b_1 ; 'et in omnibus quibus' lat. ; 'by reason of all things by (*sive* in) which' Test. ; (arab. sahid. cf. 9 ; aeth. *non liq.*) εὐεργετήσας (-ετίσας M) ἡμῶν] ἡμῶς εὐεργετήσας Oo ; ἡμᾶς (*post* eis) ἀγαθὰ εὐεργετήσας K ; 'nos iuvasti' lat. ; 'thou hast benefited us' Test. sahid. (εὐεργετεῖν) ; 'by which we are benefited' arab. (aeth. *non liq.*) 11. πᾶσαν] πᾶσαν τὴν K ; τὴν Oo ; *praem.* καὶ Goar ; *praem.* 'adornans nobis' lat. Test. ; *praem.* 'having garnished' (κοσμεῖν) sahid. ; 'and thou hast disposed thy' arab. (aeth. *non liq.*) πηλίκους] *ita* B ; ποικίλης K ; ποικίλους (ποικηλοῖς M, ποικιλοῖς b_1 , πικηλοῖς b_3) codd. cett. Test. verss. ; παντοῖους Goar καρποῖς] + κατακοσμήσας Oo ; καρποὺς διδούς K ; + 'and bless also this thy servant N. and accept his diligence and his love' Test. 12. παιδός σου] *praem.* ἁγίου Oo sahid. ; + 'the only begotten' Test. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου (σωτήρος b_3) ἡμῶν (*om.* τ. κ. ἡμ. K)] τ. κ. ἡμ. I. Χρ. Oo 13. δι' οὗ . . . αἰώνων. ἀμήν] δι' οὗ σοὶ δοξα σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πν. νυν καὶ αἰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς M ; δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ (*om.* σοὶ ο) πρέπει δοξα σὺν τῷ (*om.* τῷ ο) ἁγ. πν. νυν (*cessat* O) κ. αἰ Oo ; δι' οὗ καὶ σὺ (*sic*) τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμψαμεν σὺν τῷ παναγαθῷ κ. ζωοποιῷ σου πν. νυν κ. αἰ b_3 ; μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δοξα κρατὸς τιμῇ κ. προσκυνησίς τῷ πατρὶ κ. τ. υἱῷ κ. τ. ἁγ. πν. νυν κ. αἰ κ. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας b_2 ; μεθ' οὗ εὐ(λογητός) K ; στι εὐ(λογητός) εἰ εἰς τοὺς b_1 ; 'per quem tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum. amen' lat. ; 'through whom be glory to thee with him and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen' aeth. arab. sahid. ; 'through whom to thee (be) glory and honour and dominion with the Holy Spirit unto all ages of ages. Amen' Test. 14. τοιοῦτοι] B ; 'id est' (I = *τούτεστι*) lat. 15-16. σταφυλιν etc.] B Goar (*at omni. in plur.*) (M cf. *1 supra*) ; 'uva, ficus, mala grania, oliva, pyrus, malum, sycaminum, persicum, ceraseum, amygdalum, damascena' lat. ; aeth. arab. sahid. *vide infra* p. 137.

document. I place in square brackets some words which seem clearly to be interpolations.

'Those fruits which are offered to the bishop let him bless thus :

2. O God, we give thanks to thee [always, and also this day] 3. (on) which we offer to thee the firstlings of these fruits 4. which thou hast given to us for food, 5. having matured ('completed') them [by thy power and] by thy word, 6. having commanded [from the beginning of the making of the worlds] that the earth should bring forth varied (*psithikē* : an uncommon word) fruits 7. for gladness and for enjoyment for men 8. and for all animals. 9. By reason of ('*al*') these (things) we praise thee, Lord, 10. (even) by reason of ('*al*') all these (things) whereby (*or* wherein) thou hast benefited us (*lit.* 'done well for us'), 11. having adorned for us the whole earth with divers fruits. 12. [Bless, then, also this thy servant N., and accept his diligence and his love,] through thy [only-begotten] Son Jesus Christ, 13. through whom to thee (be) glory [and honour and dominion with ('*am*') the Holy Spirit] unto all ages of ages. Amen.'

I venture now to reconstruct the original Greek of the prayer as follows (omitting the heading and the list of fruits at the end). The Latin version is added for convenience of comparison.

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ θεός,	Gratias tibi agimus, Deus,	
καὶ προσφερόμεν σοι ἀπαρχὴν καρπῶν	et offerimus tibi primitivas fructuum	
οἷς ἔδωκας ἡμῖν εἰς μετάληψιν	quos dedisti nobis ad percipiendum	
τελεσφορήσας διὰ τοῦ λόγου σου,	per verbum tuum enutrients ea,	5
κλείσας τῇ γῇ καρποὺς παντοδαποὺς	iubens terrae omnes fructus ad-	
ἐκφέρειν (-φῦσαι ?)	ferre	
εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς ἀν-	ad laetitiam et nutrimentum ho-	
θρώποις	minum	
καὶ παντὶ ζῳῷ.	et omnibus animalibus.	
ἐπὶ τοῖτοις πᾶσιν (οἱ ἀπασιν) ὑμνοῦ-	super his omnibus laudamus te,	
μέν σε, ὁ θεός,	Deus,	
ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς εὐεργέτησας ἡμῖν	et in omnibus quibus nos iuvasti	10
(κατα)κοσμήσας ἡμῖν πᾶσαν κτίσιν	adornans nobis omnem creaturam	
ποικίλοις καρποῖς	variis fructibus	
ὅα τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	per puerum tuum Iesum Christum	
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,	dominum nostrum,	
ὅς οἱ σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν	per quem tibi gloria in saecula	
αἰώνων. ἀμήν.	saeculorum. amen.	

Some notes on the above text.

Of the MSS of the Euchologion, N extends only to the end of l. 3, and C only to the end of l. 4. Most of what now follows will therefore not refer to these two MSS.

It is evident that of the Greek MSS B has the text of the prayer in the purest form. But even B admits of correction here and there from some of the other MSS; and it has, with most of the others, three very strange omissions which seriously impair the sense. (1) In l. 6 all MSS but K omit *τῇ γῇ* after *κελεύσας*; (2) in the same line all but K omit the verb *ἐκφύειν* (*-φῦσαι*), for which K has *εὐφύειν*, and O o have *βλαστῆσαι*; and (3) in l. 11 all but O o omit (*κατα*)*κοσμήσας ἡμῖν*: O o place *κατακοσμήσας* (without *ἡμῖν*) after *καρποῖς* at the end of the line.

There can, I think, be no doubt on any substantial point as to the original text of the prayer; and nowhere are we left to guess at a Greek word. I notice here the only points that seem to call for comment.

In l. 6 it may be a question whether we should not read with AC *παντοδαποὺς ἐκφῦσαι καρποῦς*. But possibly this is a stylistic improvement of the compiler.

In l. 7 the Latin has 'hominum'; and *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* is read by *b*₂ *b*₃ (B has *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους sic*), and the Arabic and Sahidic versions have 'of'. But the Latin is not consistent with itself, since it has 'et omnibus animalibus' in the next line. The dative in both places is read by Test. and the Ethiopic as well as by the remaining Greek MSS M K O o *b*₁. We may compare Hippolytus, *Fragm. II* on Genesis (ed. Achelis p. 52 ll. 1-2): *τὸ δὲ τρίτον (sc. μέρος τῶν ὑδάτων) εἰς τὸ κάτω κατέλιπε πρὸς χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*.

The most troublesome passage textually is ll. 9-10; and some uncertainty must remain as to the original readings at the beginnings of these lines. The following are the variants with their several attestations:—

l. 9. *ἐν πᾶσιν* B.

ἐν τοῦτοις *b*₁ *b*₂ *b*₃ M.

ἐπὶ τοῦτοις *πᾶσιν* K lat. AC (*ἐπὶ τοῦτοις οὖν ἅπασιν*).

ἐπὶ τοῦτοις Test. ('by reason of these things').

l. 10. *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς* B *b*₂ *b*₃ M Test. (*vid.*).

ἐν οἷς O o.

ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν 'I. X. καὶ θεός *b*₁.

εἰς (sic) K.

καὶ *ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς* lat.

The witness of aeth. arab. sahid. is not very clear. But aeth. perhaps represents *ἐν* in l. 9, and arab. sahid. perhaps represent *ἐπὶ* in both lines. Here are the texts in Mr Horner's translation:—

aeth. (p. 179): 'that we may glorify thee, O God, *in* all the profit which thou causest to all creation'.

arab. (p. 259): 'we thank thee, O God, *for* this and all others of them by which we are benefited'.

sahid. (p. 323): 'we bless thee, God, *for* these and all other things with which thou hast benefited (*euergetei*) us'.

It appears to me most probable that Test. is right in representing two clauses in apposition, each beginning with *ἐνί*; though it is probably wrong in omitting *πάντων* in l. 9. It may be remarked that in l. 10 'all *these* (things)' does not necessarily, or even probably, imply the presence of *τούτοις*. Syriac idiom would very naturally lead to the insertion of 'these' or 'those' in translating merely *ἐνὶ πάντων οἷς*.

On the list of fruits which follows the prayer I have no comments to offer, except to remark that this addition in B and (out of place) in M shews clearly that the prayer is taken straight from the Church Order. The MSS of the Euchologion omit the list of vegetables forbidden to be offered, and also the mention of flowers that may be offered, viz. roses and lilies. Test. says only: 'But vegetables are not blessed, but the fruits of trees: flowers, rose and lily.' AC and CH do not specify the offerings at all.

The list of fruits as in aeth. arab. sahid., omitted from the apparatus in order not to overload it, may be added here for completeness:—

aeth. (Horner p. 179): 'The priest shall bless these fruits: grapes and figs and pomegranates, and fruit of olive, apples, plums, quinces, peaches, tamarinds, almonds.'

arab. (p. 259): 'These are the fruits which are blessed: grapes and figs and pomegranates and olives and peaches and apples and cherries.'

sahid. (p. 324): 'These are the fruits which shall be blessed: the grapes, the fig, the pomegranate, the olive, the pear (*papidion*), the apple, the peach (*persikon*), the cherry (*kerasion*), the almond (*amēkdalon*).'

I avail myself of the present occasion to point out another piece—a mere scrap—of the Greek text of Hippolytus's Church Order, and also some passages in it which have been used in Latin documents.

I.

In *The so-called Egyptian Church Order*¹ I had occasion to notice that Funk had found a piece of the Greek text of our document in the Vienna MS gr. 7 of the 'Epitome' of the Apostolic Constitutions bk. viii. Funk states that this MS has part iii of Ep. after part v, and

¹ Cambridge *Texts and Studies* viii 4 p. 71.

that at the end of part v it inserts a passage entitled *περὶ νηστειών*, which is taken from the 'Egyptian Constitutions' (i.e. 'EgCO').¹ Though this passage concerns the present note only indirectly, it may be given here for the satisfaction of readers who will be glad to have these detached fragments brought together. It is as follows:—

Χῆραι καὶ παρθένοι πολλάκις νηστεύεωσαν καὶ εὐχέσθωσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτεροι ἐπὶ βούλονται, καὶ λαϊκοὶ ὁμοίως νηστεύεωσαν. ἐπίσκοπος οὐ δύναται νηστεύειν, ἐὰν μὴ ὅτε καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός. ἔσθ' ὅτε γὰρ θέλει τις προσεγγεῖν, καὶ ἀρνήσασθαι οὐ δύναται. κλάσας δὲ πάντως γεύεται.

The importance of this passage for our present purpose lies in the proof which it affords that the writer of the Vienna MS of Ep. knew and used the Order of Hippolytus ('EgCO'), or at least part of it.

Now in this same MS at Ep. § xxiv 4 (= A C viii c. xxxiv), a passage on the hours of daily prayer, we read as follows:—

ἐκτη δέ (sc. ὥρα) εὐχὰς ἐπιτελεῖτε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ νυγεῖς τὴν πλευρὰν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξέχεεν.

The words in heavy type are found in this Greek MS only of Ep., and do not occur in A C. They occur also in a Syriac version of Ep. (in three MSS of the British Museum); but, as E. Schwartz has pointed out,² this Syriac version is closely allied to the Vienna Greek MS. The source of the words is again the Order of Hippolytus; for in Hauler's Latin version (p. 119) we find:

'Illa ergo hora (sc. nona) in latere Christus punctus aquam et sanguinem effudit et reliquum temporis diei inluminans ad vesperam deduxit.'

It remains only to observe that the form of expression in the piece of Greek text is just such as Hippolytus uses elsewhere. In his extant works we find the following allusions to the piercing of our Lord's side on the cross:—

(1) *Contra Noct.* c. 18 καὶ πλευρὰν λόγχῃ νύσσεται ὁ ζῶν πᾶσι χαριζόμενος.

(2) *Ibid.* καὶ αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ ἁγίας πλευρᾶς ρέυσας λόγχῃ νυγεῖς. τοῦτου χάριν ἥλιος σκοτιζεται, ἡμέρα οὐ φωτίζεται.

(3) *Fragm. XVIII on Psalms* (ed. Achelis p. 146): καὶ πλευρὰν λόγχῃ νύσσεται.

(4) On 'The Blessings of Jacob' (*Texte u. Unters.* 3rd ser. viii p. 34): ὅς νυχθεῖς τὴν πλευρὰν προήγαγεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν εἰς λουτρόν, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀγορασμόν.

It will be observed that in these passages the accusative *πλευρὰν* occurs three times; and that an active (or quasi-active) verb is employed

¹ *Didasc. et Const. Apost.* ii p. xvii.

² *Ueber die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen* pp. 4-5.

instead of the ἐξῆλθεν of John xix 34. Both of these features meet us in the piece of text preserved in the Vienna MS.

It will also be remarked that the use of the verb ῥέω in no. (2) above is somewhat peculiar. This sends us to an earlier passage of Hippolytus's Order than the one here in question, a passage in which the Latin version presents a similar peculiarity. The blessing of cheese and olives, which comes in the Eucharistic service, contains the following sentence :—

‘Fac a tua *dulcitudine* non recedere fructum etiam hunc olivae, qui est exemplum tuae *pinguidinis*, quam de ligno *fluisti* in vitam eis qui sperant in te’ (Hauler, p. 108).

Here the *lignum* is not the olive tree; for the fruit of the olive is but the type of that ‘fatness’ which Christ ‘flowed’ from the wood. The wood is evidently the Cross; the odd *fluisti* is merely a translation of ῥέουσας; and the allusion is again to the piercing of the side.

Hippolytus's use of the verb ῥέω in this connexion is, I believe, an echo of his Old Testament exegesis. For him the ‘land flowing with milk and honey’ (ῥέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι—‘*fluens* lac et mel’), with its ‘fatness’, was a type of the flesh of Christ. Compare these passages :—

(α) Fragm. XXII on Genesis (ed. Achelis p. 63)¹: commenting on the words καὶ τὴν γῆν ὅτι πίων (Gen. xlix 15), he says : ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ πίων, τουτέστιν ἡ λιπαρά. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ῥέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι.

(β) Fragm. XXXIX on Genesis (*ibid.* p. 66): commenting on the same epithet πίων in Gen. xlix 20, he says again : τὸ γὰρ ‘πῖον’ λιπαρόν ἐστιν. λιπαρὸς δὲ τίνος ὁ ἄρτος ἡ ἡμῶν; ὁ γὰρ κύριός ἐστιν ἡμῶν ὁ ἄρτος.

(γ) In commenting on Gen. xxvii 28 (δῶψοι σοι ὁ θεὸς . . . καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πίότητος τῆς γῆς κτλ.) he again equates the land, earth, with the flesh of Christ : τὴν δὲ γῆν, τὴν σάρκα, τὴν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου προσειλημμένην (‘Blessing of Jacob’: *Texte u. Unters.* 3rd ser. vol. viii no. 1 p. 19).

These passages, besides accounting for the use of the verb ῥέω, will explain the allusion contained in the words of the prayer, ‘exemplum tuae *pinguidinis*’. We meet with the same sort of exegesis in a later passage of Hippolytus's Order, viz. where he speaks of the milk and honey administered to the newly baptized :—

‘Lac et melle mixta simul ad plenitudinem promissionis quae ad patres fuit, quam dixit *terram* fluentem lac et mel, quam et dedit *carne* suam Christus’ (Hauler, p. 112).

¹ In the Berlin edition, *Hippolytus* i part 2.

II.

The Dean of Wells has drawn my attention to the fact that the blessing for oil and the immediately succeeding blessing for cheese and olives in the Order of Hippolytus are utilized in the Roman blessing of oil, or chrism, on Holy Thursday in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries. The following are the texts of Hippolytus and *Gelas.*, with the variants of *Greg.* :—

Hippolytus.

Ut oleum hoc sanctificans das, Deus, sanitatem utentibus et percipientibus, *unde unxisti reges, sacerdotes et profetas*, sic et omnibus gustantibus confortationem et sanitatem utentibus illud praebeat. . .

Fac a tua dulcitudine non recedere fructum etiam hunc olivae, qui est exemplum tuae *pinguidinis*, *quam de ligno fluisti* in vitam eis qui sperant in te (ed. Hauler, p. 108).

Gelas.

Emitte, quaesumus,¹ Domine, Spiritum sanctum² Paraclitum de caelis in hac *pinguedine olei*³ *quam de viridi ligno producere* dignatus es ad refectionem mentis et⁴ corporis. Et tua sancta benedictio⁵ sit *omni* ungenti, *gustanti*,⁶ tangenti, tutamentum corporis, animae et spiritus,⁷ ad evacuandos omnes dolores, omnem infirmitatem,⁸ omnem aegritudinem mentis et⁹ corporis, *unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et*¹⁰ *prophetas*, et martyres (ed. Wilson, p. 70).

¹ om. 'quaesumus' *Greg.* (ed. Murat. col. 55, ed. Wilson, p. 49) ² + 'tuum' *Greg.* ³ 'in hanc pinguedinem olivae' *Greg.* ⁴ om. 'mentis et' *Greg.*
⁵ 'ut tua sancta benedictione' *Greg.* ⁶ om. 'gustanti' *Greg.* ⁷ 'tut. mentis et corporis' *Greg.* ⁸ 'omnesque infirmitates' *Greg.* ⁹ om. 'mentis et' *Greg.*
¹⁰ om. 'et' *Greg.*

In Hippolytus the 'wood' is the Cross, as we saw in the foregoing note; in the Sacramentaries it is the olive tree. But such an adaptation would be not unnatural even if the writer of the later prayer had perceived the allusion to the Cross, which possibly he had not.

The Sacramentary prayer has the order priests, kings, prophets, and adds martyrs; whereas Hippolytus places 'kings' before 'priests'. But in *Gelas.* the *Hanc igitur* prayer of the same mass at which the oil is blessed speaks of those who are anointed as 'regio et sacerdotali propheticoque honore perfusi' (ed. Wilson, p. 69; this is not in *Greg.*). Here we have the order of Hippolytus, and without the addition of 'martyrs'.

We may compare Hippolytus in *Dan.* lib. iv c. 30⁸⁻⁹ πάντες γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς χριστοὶ προσηγορεύοντο διὰ τὸ χρίσθαι αὐτοὺς τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ (Berlin ed. part 1 p. 266).

III.

The directions of Hippolytus for the ordination of presbyters and deacons have been imitated in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (or so-called fourth synod of Carthage), nos. 2 and 3—a document which Maassen, Duchesne, and others regard as being of Gallican origin, and of the fifth or sixth century. Here are the texts of the two documents:—

Hippolytus.

Cum autem presbyter ordinatur, inponat manum super caput eius episcopus, contingentibus etiam presbyteris, et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum . . .

Diaconus vero cum ordinatur, eligatur secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, similiter inponens manus episcopus solus, sicuti praecipimus. In diacono ordinando solus episcopus inponat manus propterea quia non in sacerdotio ordinatur, sed in ministerio episcopi, etc. (Hauler, pp. 108–109).

Statuta.

Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput eius tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui praesentes sunt manus suas iuxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant

Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus manum super caput illius ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur (Mansi iii 944 sq.; cf. Hefele-Leclercq Councils ii 1 p. 111).

These two articles of the *Statuta*, together with those for the other orders, bishop, subdeacon, &c., are placed as a rubric before the blessings for minor orders in the Gelasian Sacramentary (bk. i no. 95). *Greg.* has nothing similar; and in *Gelas.* the whole section is certainly a Gallican addition. It is clear that the part of the rubric which refers to deacons and presbyters is not, like the phrases in the blessing of the oil, taken directly from Hippolytus, but (ultimately) from the *Statuta*.

In his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* lib. ii c. 12 Amalar of Metz (ninth century) has a passage which may be noticed here.

‘Est libellus quidam apud nos de sacris ordinibus, nescio cuius auctoris, qui dicit solum episcopum debere manus imponere super diaconum, quia non ad sacerdotium consecratur sed ad ministerium. Numquid scriptor libelli doctior atque sanctior apostolis, qui posuerunt plures manus super diaconos quando consecrabantur? et propterea solus episcopus ponat manum super diaconum, ac si solus possit precari virtutem gratiarum quam plures apostoli precabantur? An forte ideo non imponit sacerdos manum super eum qui ad diaconatus officium consecratur, ut non fiat quod ipse est, id est sacerdos? Si ita est, nec episcopum oportet ei manum imponere, ut non fiat episcopus,’ etc. (Migne *P. L.* cv 1087).

The *libellus* of unknown authorship, for which Amalar had so little

respect, can hardly have been a regular Sacramentary; it seems probable therefore that he is alluding either to the actual *Statuta* or to some Ordo based upon them. The word 'consecratur' shews that he had not Hippolytus's Order before him. His criticism of the prescription touching the ordination of a deacon is interesting in view of the wide currency which these *Statuta* regulations seem to have enjoyed in France in the eighth century. For some idea of their diffusion Mr Wilson's notes to *Gelas.* bk. i no. 95 may be consulted.

IV

There is yet another parallel to Hippolytus's Order, which, if it does not afford conclusive evidence of literary borrowing, at least provides another indication of the Roman origin of the Order.

In describing the Eucharist at which the baptized communicate for the first time, Hippolytus mentions that in addition to the cup of mixed milk and honey a separate cup of water is blessed and administered to them:—

'lac et melle (*sic*) mixta simul ad plenitudinem promissionis quae ad patres fuit, quam dixit terram fluentem lac et mel . . . ; aquam vero in oblationem in indicium lavacri, ut et interior homo, quod est animale, similia consequatur sicut et corpus'.

In what then follows the cup of water and its administration are specified. In *The so-called Egyptian Church Order* (pp. 90–91) I could adduce in illustration of this usage only a passage of Clement of Alexandria in which he possibly, but by no means certainly, alludes to the practice of giving the newly baptized a cup of water to drink. I was not aware that the earliest of the Roman Sacramentaries, the *Leonianum*, bears witness to the same practice. At pp. 24–25 of Dr Feltoe's edition there is a mass *In Pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte*, which is thus constituted: first collect, 'Praesta nobis, ineffabilis et misericors Ds'; second collect, 'Propitius, Dñe, quaesumus'; preface, 'Vere dign. . . unde laetantes inter altaria tua, Dñe virtutum, hostias tibi laudis offerimus, et caetera'; then, 'Hanc igitur . . . eorumque nomina adscribi iubeas in libro viventium'; then, 'Communicantes' (*sic*, after 'Hanc ig.');

and finally the following blessing:—
'Benedic, Dñe, et has tuas creaturas fontis, mellis et lactis, et pota famulos tuos ex hoc fonte aquae vitae perennis, qui est Sps veritatis,¹ et enutri eos de hoc lacte et melle *quemadmodum patribus nostris Abraham, Isaac et Iacob (promisisti) introducere te eos in terram promissionis, terram fluentem melle et lacte. coniunge ergo famulos tuos, Dñe, Spiritui sño sicut coniunctum est hoc mel et lac, quo caelestis terrenaque substantiae significatur unio in Xro Ihũ Dño nostro per quem haec omnia*' etc.

¹ For this idea cf. Irenaeus *Haer.* V xviii 1 (ed. Harvey) 'in omnibus autem nobis Spiritus, et ipse est aqua viva, quam praestat Dominus in se recte credentibus'.

The italicized words as far as '*lacte*' at once recall the language of the passage from Hippolytus quoted just above. The subject, however, lends itself so naturally to the common treatment that the parallel cannot be pressed as an indication of literary dependence. The next words, '*coniunge*', &c., recall the language of the blessing over the cheese in Hippolytus's Order: '*Sanctifica lac hoc, quod quoagulatum est, et nos conuaglans tuae caritati*' (Hauler, p. 108). But the chief interest of the Leonine prayer rests in the evidence it provides of the Roman custom of giving a cup of water, as well as one of milk and honey, to the newly baptized on the occasion of their first Communion.

I must point out that the late Mr Edmund Bishop had some doubts as to whether this blessing in the *Leonianum* formed part of the original Roman collection, or is a Gallican addition. In his Note to the *Book of Cerne*, no. 6 p. 242, he wrote: 'the giving of milk and honey to the newly baptized is not witnessed to by authentic documents as a genuine and native practice of the Roman Church'. But he added: 'I do not wish to suggest that the formulae in *Leon.* were not written in Rome, but call attention to the use of "*perennis*" in them as one of a number of cases in which expressions common in *Moz.* and absent from later Roman forms are found in *Leon.*' The use of *perennis* in connexion with the idea of water, however, as here, would seem natural in any locality. In his unpublished notes Mr Bishop has left on record a more definite statement of his doubt and of the grounds on which it rested. He was inclined to suspect that the whole mass, though composed of Roman prayers, was a non-Roman compilation, with certain Gallican touches added here and there. The whole case deserves a fuller discussion than can here be undertaken; but after considering all the points I cannot but feel that the ultimate ground and cause of Mr Bishop's suspicion was the unfamiliar subject-matter of the benediction printed above. The prayers of this mass strike me as thoroughly Roman from first to last; and the few phrases in which Mr Bishop's sensitive ear seemed to catch another note will, I think, receive a natural explanation when it is remembered that the mass is one for the newly baptized. Thus the words of the preface, '*unde laetantes inter altaria tua, Domine virtutum*', are a reminiscence of Ps. lxxxiii (lxxxiv) 4, and are entirely appropriate to an occasion on which the neophytes made their first entry to the altar (cf. St Ambrose *de Myst.* ch. viii: '*His abluta plebs dives insignibus ad Christi contendit altaria dicens: Et introibo ad altare Dei*', &c.; see also the *de Sacramentis* bk. iii ch. 2). Again, the allusion in the *Hanc igitur* to enrolment in the 'book of the living' may well have arisen out of the practice of registering the names of candidates for baptism. In any case we may again compare St Ambrose *de Myst.* ch. ii: '*Renuntiasti diabolo . . . Tenetur vox tua non in tumulto*

mortuorum, sed *in libro viventium*'. The *de Sacramentis* (bk. i ch. 2) similarly speaks of the renunciation of Satan as a *chirographum*: 'Ergo chirographum tuum tenetur non in terra sed *in caelo*'. I feel little doubt that if Mr Bishop had had occasion to reconsider the benediction in *Leon.* in the light of the Hippolytan authorship of 'EgCO' (which, though it came as a surprise to him, he finally accepted without reserve), he would have been led to recognize this formula, and the mass in which it occurs, as an original part of the Roman book.

A blessing such as that in *Leon.* is referred to in another Western, and probably Roman document, the Acts of St Susanna (*Acta SS. Boll.* 18 Feb. § 11): 'Tunc obtulit pro illis sacrificium . . . et consecravit corpus et sanguinem D. n. I. Chr., et lac et mel et fontem'.¹

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ These Acts may quite well be of the fifth century. The interrogatory Creed in the baptism described has the order 'in Christum Iesum', which is an early feature; it has also 'de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine'. I owe the reference to Edm. Bishop's notes.

A COMMENTARY ON THE SYRIAC HYMN OF THE SOUL.

I.

At the outset of an attempt to understand the Hymn we are met with frank helpfulness on its part. The poem allows of no artificial method of partition. It divides itself; and the divisions are two. There is in the Hymn: (1) An Autobiography; (2) A Mysticism. These two factors so interpenetrate each other that it is hoped to throw light on the poet by a new reading of his mystical thought. This can be done only by examining the couplets¹ of the poem in detail.

Couplets 1-5. The opening lines of the poem enable us to locate the poet and the place of his setting out as being in the Near East. This view is upheld by the fact of Syriac being the original language of the Hymn.

6-7. The composition of the pilgrim's load. In it was gold from the land of the Over-ones; silver from Gazzak; rubies from India; and a fourth precious quality perhaps from a Persian land, though this is at present beyond our knowledge owing to the condition of the manuscript—nor is the Greek text helpful where it reads *καὶ μαργαρίται ἐκ Κουσάνων*², for the poet would not have been likely to have spoken of pearls in Kushan then; that jewel is reserved for another type of spiritual wisdom and is one of the chief subjects of his poem. Indeed it is not outside possibility that the reference may be to a silken fabric rather than to a gem.³ First of all it is necessary to find what other support the poem offers for the assertion that his wealth is spiritual. This is brought out most clearly towards the close of the Hymn, where he is about to reinvest himself with the 'bright robe' he was bound to leave behind him when he went on his quest. For that spiritual *alter ego* is adorned with just these precious stuffs (82-84), and this he describes as his treasure and wealth (81 b). Next it is necessary to discriminate the contents of his load. The SILVER from Atropatenean Gazzak, a noted Zoroastrian centre,⁴ was the silver and white of

¹ Bevan *Syriac Hymn of the Soul*, 1879 (*Texts and Studies* v 3), 4. The present writer has ventured to quote this scholar's most helpful translation throughout his analysis.

² The Greek translator renders Maishān as *Μοσάνων* (*Acta Thomae* 109), and perhaps the scribe meant to write this name in the interest of what he thought to be literal fact; cf. couplets 16-20 and the citation from Pliny.

³ Bevan, note to 7 b.

⁴ Bevan, note to 6 b.

Anahita, *Ábān Yasht* i 7, iii 13—that is the silver of the goddess who is central to the Fravashi cult¹; of Mithra, *Mihir Yasht* xxvi 102, where the white Kista rides with him, xxxii 136 and xxviii 12, where his helmet is silver; of Tishtrya, *Tir Yasht* i 2, vi 18, 26, 30; of Verethraghna, *Bahrán Yasht* iii 9. The RUBIES from India will be the ruddiness and red of fire in the Agni complex, wherein are the two Mitras, Mitra and Varuna (*Mand* i, H. 36. 17), and the Dioscuri.² This complex will be found to have genital filiations with the fundamental belief of the Hymn. Rubies are represented, for example, in *Mandala* i, *Hymn* 36. 9, 94. 10; ii 2. 8, 10. 2; iii 1. 4, 29. 6; iv 1. 8, 6. 9; v 1. 5. The GOLD which is from the Land of the Over-ones, that is to say the land of his spiritual ancestry, threads its brightness throughout the poem; this is treated in all its details at the close of the analysis.

8. Besides his spiritual knowledge his will also had been educated, he was girt with adamant; or, as it is later in the description of the robe he reassumes: its seams were fastened with adamant (85).

9–10. As he was about to set out his robe was taken from him—that is, his spiritual other-self and insignia of Overship or Princehood was left in the keeping of the Over-ones. This feature will have fuller meaning by the close of this analysis.

11–15. The Over-ones made a compact with him; or wrote his mission on his heart: that he should go down into 'Egypt' and bring thence the Pearl that is watched by the poison-breathing Dragon. Three radical concepts are represented by the terms Egypt, Pearl, and Dragon. We will take them in turn. (i) EGYPT: the distinguished Orientalist, Professor Nöldeke, has stated the opinion that 'Egypt' is the earth.³ Thus it is no place-name.⁴ Confirmation for this opinion is in the Hymn itself, and from the poet's use of the name 'Egyptians', whom he equates with 'the unclean'. In other words, it is manifest as soon as the terms are touched that the poet has cosmic and religious meanings for them. Of what sort are those meanings? Their definition would enable a clearer treatment of the two seeming ethnic terms. For it is to be noticed that the three radical concepts are closely associated in the Hymn; and that in the Pearl and Dragon are cosmic and religious ideas complementary to those in the terms 'Egypt' and 'Egyptians'. (ii) EGYPT, PEARL AND DRAGON: the earliest document

¹ See end of Analysis.

² Cf. Rendel Harris *Boanerges*, 1913, c. iv *The Red Robes of the Dioscuri* and part of c. xvii dealing with Açvins.

³ Bevan, 2; Burkitt *The Hymn of Bardaisan*, 1899, 7; cf. *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1904, 212–217.

⁴ Cf. *Hymn*, 12 a, 20 a, 39 b, 42 b, 45 b, 57 a.

in which these terms are juxtaposed is the *Acts of Saint Phocas*.¹ The base of these Acts is very early second century. In chapter 15 there is recorded a prayer offered by Phocas then in prison; and in its course are these petitions: 'Keep my spirit, as Father, as God, as Lord, as Shepherd, lest there breathe upon me the *dragon*; lest his feet trample upon me. For he could not persuade me by gold or silver to lose the precious *Pearl*. But lo, I have abandoned all that I may possess thee alone; the altogether precious Lord, the pitiful, the outshining.' The literary coincidences are exact. What of the meanings of the terms? The PEARL, in the sense of Phocas, is the knowledge of the Spiritual Lord. The DRAGON is in patent contrast with what is spiritual. These are hints of a metaphysical dualism. The hints take on firmer lines from other parts of the *Acts*. In chapter 16 Phocas is before Trajan, and they discuss the nature of the gods. The bishop denies the existence of those worshipped by Trajan. 'Are the gods demons, and we swine?' asks the emperor. 'Tell me then what other god is left?' Phocas said: 'He that gave thee thy authority. For ye are dumb irrational animals, and know not the *benevolent God*.' The features underlined are so distinctive, whether as theology or terms with cosmological incidence, as to impress their classification. A comparison with Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* will make this manifest. In his prefatory chapter (i 2) he deals with the Pontic and Marcionite dualism: 'Duos Ponticus deos affert'—one is 'creatorem nostrum', the God of the Old Testament and creator of the physical and evil world; the other is the Spiritual Lord 'et ita in Christo quasi aliam inveniens dispositionem solius et purae benignitatis'. In the next sentence to this Tertullian shows that he has knowledge of the part played in the formulation of these concepts by Marcion's teacher, Cerdon: 'Habuit et Cerdonem quendam, informatorem scandali huius, quo facilius duos deos caeci perspexisse se existimaverunt.' This basal theological harmony between the Phocas-document and Tertullian's statement is very significant. For it must be remembered that Phocas was the saint and hero of Sinope in Pontus,² which also was Marcion's birth-place. From another outstanding theologian may be found how the PEARL and DRAGON belong to the same remarkable person from Pontus who caused the world of the second century to think. Ephrem Syrus is the next authority, and in his *Sermo adversus Haereticos*.³ A catena of passages can be drawn thence. Towards

¹ *Acta Sanctorum* iii 641-645; Delehaye *Synaxarium Eccl. Constan.* 1902, s.n.; the earlier Armenian version in Conybeare *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius* 103 ff.

² *Acts*, c. 4; ἱερομόνυχος, Delehaye *op. cit.* c. g. 800, 802, 829, 835, 837, 839.

³ Ephrem *Opera*, 1743, ii 259 ff.

the beginning of this sermon occurs the sentence : πένης εἰμί, συληθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δρακόντος (260 C) ; which is followed soon after by : ὁ μαργαρίτης ὁ τίμιος, ὁ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εὐρισκόμενος πολλῆς τιμῆς ἄξιός ἐστι διὰ τὸ δυσεύρετον (261 A, cf. 260 F). On the next page Ephrem makes emphatic application of his dialectic against Marcion (262 D) and continues : πρὸς Μάνην διαλέγομαι τὸν χείρονα Μαρκίωνος φρονοῦντα περὶ προσλήψεως. ὁ μαργαρίτης ἡμῶν εἰς μέσον πρόκειται (262 E). It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the exact parallelism between Ephrem's language and that of the Hymn, so obvious is it.¹ And that fact co-ordinates the literary and religious sources. With this present to the mind it is profitable to trace further Ephrem's use of the PEARL concept. Immediately after the last citation he writes : εἴπωσιν ἡμῖν τις ἢ γένεσις τοῦ μαργαρίτου. δείξωσιν ἡμῖν, ὅτι σχῆμα μόνον ἔχει, καὶ οὐχ ὑπόστασιν (262 E) ; or ὁ μαργαρίτης λίθος ἐστίν, ἐκ σαρκῶν γεγόμενος ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὀστρέων ὁ μαργαρίτης προέρχεται (263 C) ; or again : ὁ μαργαρίτης οὔτε μιάξ τίκεται, οὔτε ὡς πνεῦμα ἐν σχήματι προσέρχεται (263 D ; cf. 262 F, 264 C and D). Quotations of the same sort could be taken from this sermon. Sufficient for the present analysis have been made. The motive and method of Ephrem in thus speaking are the things to be seized. For Ephrem the PEARL is still the Lord ; but he handles the symbol so that it is a polemical concept against the wholly spiritual view of the Lord. That it was used by Marcion, and that Ephrem's language is coloured by the Hymn are directive conclusions of great value in this analysis. Later support for this theological classification is in Leo the Great. When writing to Turibius² on the theological influences at work among the Priscillians he says : 'sequentes dogmata Cerdonis atque Marcionis.' Now in this religious movement an action-song from the *Acta Iohannis* was used in their services.³ In the Preface to this song we read : 'Now before He was taken by the lawless Jews, who also were governed by the lawless serpent.'⁴ Without doubt this is the Dragon which, whether the Hymn is considered or its Marcionism, represents the creator of the physical or the Demiurgos. Once more, the *Acts of Phocas*⁵ has this notable phrase when referring to the DRAGON : ἵνα μὴ συνήσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὁ δράκων. It bears requotation. For with it should be compared Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*,⁶ where the writer quotes the use of Cerdon's teaching by his pupil Marcion, and employs the epithet : 'spirante dracone.' These witnesses call up the epithet in the Hymn (13 b and 58 b), where the DRAGON is either 'loud-breathing' or 'poison-breath-

¹ See part ii of this commentary for other like evidence from Ephrem.

² Leo *Ep.* 15. 4.

³ *Acta Iohannis* xi.

⁴ Pseudo-Tertullian, lib. 3.

⁵ Augustine *Ep.* 237. 2.

⁶ *Acts of Phocas* c. 15.

ing'.¹ The very delicate and inner nature of this harmony appears to declare conclusively for the rightness of our theological classification. Lastly the use of several of these radical concepts in Ophitism should be noticed because of the place of the Hymn in that religion. The Ophites used the term EGYPT thus²: Αἴγυπτος γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμα κατ' αὐτοῖς: that is to say, EGYPT is the realm of the physical, or the bodily, which is the realm of the Demiurgos. A use of the term distinctively allied to the Hymn. There is evidence also of a cognate use of the Pearl, for instance³: ζῶντα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ λόγους καὶ νόας καὶ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀχαρκτηρίστου ἐρριμένους εἰς τὸ πλάσμα κάτω. This usage could only have arisen from a knowledge of the Hymn, and under the spell of Marcionism. The connotations of the three radical terms is now clear. The significance of the relations between the Hymn and Marcion will be dealt with later. Before passing on to the next set of couplets we may note several other writers concerning the PEARL: Pseudo-Melito *Clavis* 'Margarita, Dominus Iesus Christus'; Eucherius, *Formulae* Margarita, doctrina evangelica⁴; Pseudo-Epiphanius *Homilia* ii⁵ ἐν ᾗ ἀτίμητον μαργαρίτην τοῦ Χριστοῦ σώματος; Aphraates *Homilia* xvii⁶ makes the Pearl to be Jesus Christ, and Clement Alex. *Frag.* (*Nic. Catena in Matt.* xii 46) ἐστι μαργαρίτης καὶ ὁ διανγῆς καὶ καθαρῶτατος Ἰησοῦς.

16-20. These record his setting out upon the quest. He left the East and went down. He passed the borders of Maishān where the Eastern merchants meet. He reached the land of Babel, and entered a walled city. The name of the city has been read as Sarbog. He was now in 'Egypt'. This cluster of what appear to be place-names is of great importance for the understanding of the Hymn. MAISHĀN is a small state in the district of the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris.⁷ Thither the Eastern and Roman merchants came.⁸ It was on a great trade and military route between the Near East and the West.⁹ And if the writer of the Hymn needed local impulse for his image of the PEARL it may be recalled that from a part of this state came 'plurimis margaritis celeberrima'.¹⁰ MAISHĀN then is a true place-name. EGYPT has been found to be marked on the charts of

¹ Payne-Smith *Lex. Syr.* s. v. ² Hippolytus, v. 149. ³ Hippolytus, v. 162.

⁴ Cf. Eucherius *Glossae spirituales* 29 (ed. Wotke *Siteb. Akad. Wien*, 1888, 452 ff.).

⁵ P. G. xliii 475 A. A line or so below this citation the writer speaks of τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ δουλείας Αἰγύπτου βυσόμενος.

⁶ Cf. Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* 91.

⁷ Saint-Martin *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Mésène*, 1838.

⁸ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vi 28. 146.

⁹ Iohannes Malala *Chronographia* ii 1.

¹⁰ Pliny, vi 28. 148; Isidore of Charace (Athenaeus, *Deip.*) iii. 46. See also note at end of Commentary.

a spiritual cosmos. Between these two names there are left for identification a land of Babel and a walled city. Before offering a new identity for these, a topographical device on the writer's part may be marked. When he is in the strange land he meets a 'freeborn man from among the *Easterns*'; when he has completed his quest he goes back directly to 'the light of our home *the East*'¹; and when he is among the 'Egyptians' he fears lest they should see he was not their countryman.² The natural conclusion to be drawn from this device is that the writer is telling of experiences which happened somewhere in the Western world. Is he not referring to Italy and Rome? BABEL or BABYLON: Rome as either of these is quite familiar in early Christian and allied literature. Instances are *Revelation of John* xiv 8; *Sibylline Oracles* v 159 Βαβυλῶνα 'Ιταλίας γαῖάν θ'—the second reference serves to bring out the meaning of the poet's phrase, 'the land of Babel'. But the *Revelation of John* (xi 8) makes another statement in which Egypt is allied with the name of a city: 'the great city which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt.' Apparently Near Asian exegesis named 'the great city' Rome, or construed the triple name as being equal either to Rome or the Roman empire. Aretheas,³ the Cappadocian commentator, did this, and in one place added Σόδομα, διὰ τὴν τότε ἀσέλγειαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσομένην Ἰουδαίων καὶ κακοξενίαν. Αἴγυπτον, ὡς καταδουλουμένην καὶ ἀδικοῦσαν τοὺς Χριστοῦ δούλους κτλ. Pseudo-Melito also, who, according to the manuscript superscription of the *Clavis*, was 'Miletus, Asianus episcopus', adds his testimony under the entry: 'Babylon, mundus aut Roma', and quotes *Revelation* xvi 19 and *Isaiah* xiii 19 where Babylon is as Sodom.⁴ Tertullian, too, is in accord with Near Asia when he writes: 'Sic et Aegyptus nonnunquam totus orbis intelligitur apud illum superstitionis et maledictionis elogio. Sic et Babylon etiam apud Iohannem nostrum Romanae urbis figura est, proinde magnae et regno superbae et sanctorum dei debellatrix.'⁵ What, then, has the Syriac text of the Hymn to say to these things? Professor Burkitt has written an interesting little study upon the name of the city that is described as being 'walled'.⁶ A summary of it can be rendered thus: 'The text of the Hymn in which the name occurs

¹ *Hymn*, 23 and 63 b; cf. also 3 a, 16 a, 38 b, 41 b.

² *Hymn*, 31 b. Cf. Gwatkin *Early Church History*, 1909, ii 50: 'the Pilgrim's Progress is Western.'

³ Aretheas *Exg. Apok.* 11. 8, 16. 21, 17. 7, 18. 8; compare 14. 8, where on Babylon: ἡ οὗτος ὁ φθαρτὸς κόσμος.

⁴ Pitra *Analecta Sacra*, 1884, ii 112. Cf. Eucherius, who equates Egypt and Babylon with *mundus*, and Pseudo-Melito: 'Aegyptus, Tribulatio sive Tenebrae, mundus ad Deum conversus.'

⁵ Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* iii 13, *Adversus Iudaeos* 9.

⁶ Burkitt *J. T. S.*, 1902, 26.

is unvocalized. But the metre shews that the word is two syllables long, and that a vowel comes between the first two letters. The name is given three times in the text, and with the same form. The vowels between the first two letters may be long or short; there may or may not be a half-vowel between the second and third letters of the name. It is suggested that the name may be either Sârêbôg or Sarbog or Sarbug. Further, it is evident that the position of this town is as vague as that of Armageddon.⁷ The problem, then, is a refined one in Syriac palaeography. Can the letters as they stand in the text, and thrice repeated, be analysed to the original form of the word? The word reads **𐤒𐤓𐤁**. The Semkath in the name is plain and indisputable. In early Syriac texts Resh and Dalath are very alike. That is to say there is a possibility of confusing the two characters. But how came the Beth? A reference to Euting's *Table*¹ shews that in fifth-century Edessan estrangelo the Wau was written with a ligatural up-curling stroke that was very like an unfinished Beth plus a Wau.² The scribe would thus only have to extend that commencing stroke to make the intriguing combination found in the present text of the Hymn; while the final letter, the Gamal, is a Mim without its preliminary attempt at a beginning curl—a feature that was rudimentarily formed in the fifth-century hand referred to. Gathering together these sundered parts of the name it is to be seen that *Sodom* could have been transformed into Sarbog. The impulse for such a transformation would be in an attempt to give a sort of geographical verisimilitude to the cluster of seeming place-names in the Hymn; for, as Professor Burkitt has shewn, Sarbog is the Babylonian Shuruppak. In other words, there came a time in the manuscript transmission of the Hymn when a scribe literalized such terms as Egypt and Babylon, and also gave the original Sodom some Babylonian colour that it might be in literal harmony. That Shuruppak was original is not likely, in the sense that it was precious stone or metal representing another order of spiritual riches, this time the Babylonian,³ which the writer of the Hymn had added to his soul. This jewel does not shine in the description he gives of his spiritual wealth. Shuruppak occurs but sparsely in the *Gilgamesh Epic*.⁴ And it is not probable that the poet would have been influenced by the Sumerian Creation narrative written round the person of the goddess Nintud in which again the city occurs.⁵ In the next place it must be asked what

¹ Noldeke *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 1904.

² Cf. Tisserant *Specimina* Pl. 20, where fifth-century MS of *Theophanius* by Eusebius.

³ Preuschen, e. g., maintains a Babylonian element in *Zwei Gnostische Hymnen*, 1904.

⁴ xi 11 and 23.

⁵ Langdon *Babylonian Liturgies*, 1913, clxxxvii 12 and 13.

the Greek text of the Hymn has to say to these things. Besides the name of the city that has been analysed certain epithets for its inhabitants are given in line 50 b: 'savage demons' and 'the children of Babel'. In line 69 a is the city's simple name. The Greek renders these instances as follows: (1) ὡς πρεσβύτερης κατεσφραγίσατο διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς τοὺς βαβυλωνίους παῖδας καὶ δαίμονας τυραννικοὺς Λαβυρίνθους (c. 111); (2) τῆς στοργῆς τὴν Λαβύρινθον (c. 112). From the outside Λαβύρινθους does not look like the word Sodomites, nor Λαβύρινθον like Sodom. Perhaps an inner understanding can be reached. Herodotus¹ informs us that the second term stands for a temple-building: τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησάμενων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. Pliny² adds: 'quarundam domuum talis est situs, ut adaperientibus fores tonitruum intus terribile existat, maiore autem in parte transitus est per tenebras'. Then Λαβύρινθον might stand as a well-known descriptive term for a temple-like building; if so Λαβυρίνθους would mean temple-dwellers or -frequenters. This so far explains the Greek. But Sodom and Sodomites are Semitic and Biblical terms. Now the Deuteronomic Law³ warns the Israelites against becoming Kadeshim and Kadeshoth—that is to say persons of both sexes who prostituted themselves in the service of a deity.⁴ These practices were carried out in the precincts of a temple. The names were applied to the Sodomites because of their Semiticized worship of the Mother-Goddess. Alongside these interpretative items must be brought prominently another. Archaeology has found that the Church used to be represented as being at the heart of a labyrinth, or was the labyrinth itself. For from the remains of an early Algerian church comes a mosaic that has the form of a square labyrinth whose mazy ways lead to a centre inscribed 'Sancta Ecclesia'.⁵ Further, another specimen cut on the porch of Lucca cathedral⁶ relates the Christianized labyrinth with sub-Minoan thought in the person of Ariadne, who was a later appearance of the ancient Mother in Minoa—the home of the Labyrinth. It is incontrovertible that the writer of the Hymn applied the terms 'savage demons', 'the children of Babel', and Sodom to the followers of and place of the Dragon—that is to the frequenters of or dwellers in a place of temples wherein the Demiurgos or god of the physical was worshipped.

¹ ii 148-149. It is unnecessary to discuss here the other meanings of the word so as to shew its exact cult significance.

² *N. H.* xxxvi 13. 88.

³ Deut. xxiii 18-19.

⁴ Driver *Deuteronomy*, 1895, 264.

⁵ Prévost *Revue Archéologique*, 1847-8, 664 and Pl. 78. Cf. the Naasene Hymn, Hippolytus, v. 175:

πυτὶ δὲ γίνεται ἀνέξοδος ἡ μελέα κακῶ
Λαβύρινθον εἰσῆλθε πλαναμένη.

⁶ Cook *Zeus* i 472 and 484.

The Greek text shews that a Greek translator rendered those terms by means of synonyms with what may be described as half-biblical and half-pagan colour. Those synonyms were known to the Christian Mediterranean world as can be seen from the interpretation of the Hymn written by Niceta of Thessalonica¹: ἀφικόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Λαβυρίνθου εἰς Αἴγυπτον. If, then, Minoa has supplied the half-pagan colour for the terms under discussion, it may be possible to trace the source of the biblical or quasi-biblical colour in them. The first quotation from the Greek text of the Hymn contains the adjectival phrase τυραννικοὺς Λαβύρινθους. Was the *Book of Wisdom* the translator's source? In chapter xix and verse 14 is to be read: 'For whereas the Sodomites² received not the strangers when they came among them; the Egyptians made slaves of guests who were their benefactors.' And in the following verse both Sodomites and Egyptians 'afflicted with dreadful toils'—οἱ δὲ μετὰ ἑορτασμάτων εἰσδεξάμενοι, or in the Latin 'saevissimis affligerunt doloribus'. Thence could have come by memory and fitness the shaping of the phrase τυραννικοὺς Λαβυρίνθους.

One other item for the identification of Rome in the name already discussed at length may be found in a line from the letter touching his mission that was written on the pilgrim's heart. He was to bring from his Egypt the Pearl 'which is in the midst of the sea' watched by the poison-breathing Dragon. In the *Liber Radiorum* of Barhebraeus³ the sea is spoken of that 'passes in the midst of the inhabited world . . . forming that sea of us western people which is called Ἀδρίας, in the north of which is Πώμη'. Also Nau⁴ has pointed out that Adrias is known to Arab geographers as the Roman Sea.

In the light of the suggestion of Marcionite relations between the Hymn and the theology of that movement, it is of value to observe that the terms Sodomites and Egyptians were inherited by Marcionism. Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* i 25. 2 writes 'et Sodomitas, et Egyptios'; and Theodoret *Haer. Fab.* i 24 καὶ τοὺς Σοδομίτας. These terms were used by the Marcionites to describe those who believed in the Demiurgos.

21-22. The first ardour of his quest.

¹ Bonnet *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1901, 162.

² For justification of term Sodomites see Deane *The Book of Wisdom*, 1881, *comm. ad loc.*

³ Gottheil *Hebraica*, 1890, 45. Cf. Ptolemaeus *Geog.* ii 4. 6 τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης, *Vita Abercii* (ed. Batareikh *Oriens Christianus*, 1904) c. 69 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πρὸς τὴν προθεσίαν κατὰ μέσσην τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπήντησε τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίνου πεμφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἀπόκρισιν, and *Vita Abercii* i (ed. Nissen, 1912) c. 45 κατὰ μέσσην θάλασσαν. See Additional note.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 1896, 310.

23-28. The pilgrim meets with a kindred soul 'from among the Easterns'. He shared his spiritual wealth with him; and especially warned him against the 'Egyptians'. These couplets will be studied below in detail.

29-35. The pilgrim made compromises with his faith and dulled the sense of his mission. He forgot his own spiritual lineage, and neglected the quest of the Pearl. As will be shewn, this means that he had assimilated the official Christian view of things in Rome with its Judaic or physical creation view.

36-50. But the overwatching parental Fravashis knew his plight. They gathered their forces; or more accurately, they assembled the royal and spiritual household. And to him they sent a winged letter of remembrance concerning his mission, his bright robe and rank that should be his if like them he was true to his faith. Then follows the account of the reawakening of his ancestral belief. The letter that was sent to him was superscribed by his Father, the King of Kings; his Mother, the Mistress of the East; and his Brother, the next in rank. These titles represent the spiritualization of ancient social structure. The title 'King of Kings' was the old one for the overlord in the lands about the Tigris and Iran¹; likewise the title 'King's Son' was a recognized regal name in the same societies². And with the feminine title is to be compared the old Arabic name *Haighumana*,³ which is a feminine form from *ἡγεμών*; and with it in turn compare the Greek *Acta Thomae*, where is the title of the two who accompanied the pilgrim to the confines of his Egypt, *οἱ ἡγεμόνες* (c. 109), or the Mother's title *καὶ μητὶς τὴν Ἀνατολὴν κατεχούσης* (c. 110). The place that Parthia plays in these matters will be dealt with.

51-60. The reception of the letter. The knowledge that its contents agree with the words written on his heart. And the reassertion of his Partho-Syrian faith.

61. He gains the Pearl.

62-68. Stripping off the last signs of his assimilation to the life and thought of Rome—that is the official or Judaic Christianity there, with its ascription of physical creation to God, he followed his Fravashi homewards.

69-71. He passed out of Sodom. He left Babel on his left hand—a discreet phrase of direction pointing to a journey eastwards. Thus he reached Maishān. This minor point of direction is worth emphasizing; since it will be seen from the map, that if Babel were actually

¹ Nöldeke *Tabari*, 1879, 15 note 1, 18 note 1; cf. *Inscription of Shapur I: βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀριανῶν* (Dittenberger *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 1903, i 647).

² Nöldeke, 28 ff.

³ Nöldeke, 133.

the geographical district or city of that name, the poet would have performed a physically impossible feat by coming again to Maishān and having Babel on his left hand. It is unlikely that he would have walked backwards.

72-105. Tell how his bright unflecked Fravashi met him on the borders of his homeland; and how, having fulfilled the commands of his Father, he passed into the ranks of the spiritual princes and rulers—he became in verity a 'King's Son'.¹

Autobiography and Mysticism are complementary. The man and his religion are one. Further, the important result appears that his Geography is spiritual so far as the analysis has gone, and when one plain exception has been made. The exception is in the name Maishān. That is actual; and forms an admirable finger-post. Another name of the same nature has never yet received the attention it merits. PARTHIA appears in the Hymn as follows: 'The land of the Upper (or Over) ones' (6 a); 'kings and princes of Parthia' (38 a); 'from the heights of Hyrcania' (73 a).² Thence the poet received the 'gold' of his spiritual wealth. It has been said that this precious quality shines throughout the texture of his poem. Indeed, the conjunction of Parthia and Syria have been in view throughout this commentary. The spiritualized social dignitaries which make up the Parthian kings and princes have been scrutinized already. Of course it would not be impossible for a Syrian to trace his line back to the time of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, who for a short while did subdue all Syria.³ It is more credible that the poet is using Parthia in relation to spiritual lore. This was his practice with other geographical names. What, then, was the 'gold' mined in Parthia? It will be recalled how large a part Parthia played in the promulgation and conservation of the *Avesta*.⁴ But Avestan matter in general has little or no place in the Hymn. Its poet discriminates a particular document in or phase of Avestan religion. The second member of the forty-seventh couplet reads: 'When thy name hath been read out in the list of the valiant' (47 b). This line is taken from the letter that was sent from Parthia

¹ Halévy *Revue Sémitique*, 1908, 85 ff and 168 ff relates the Hymn with Thomas's life and makes him a Parthian princeling. This materializing interpretation raises many difficulties. For example, forgetfulness of his royal estate and mission is said to be 'une claire allusion au manque de foi que saint Thomas montra à l'égard de la résurrection de Jésus'; or where he finds Platonism in the fact 'qu'après être venu dans ce monde sous la forme d'un homme corporel, saint Thomas ait exécuté son voyage en Orient pour y apporter l'évangile'.

² Compare, e. g., Niceta Paphlagonis *Laudatio Apostoli Thomae* (Combesis *Bibl. Graec. Patrum Auct. Nov.*, 1672, i 368) οἱς Παρθίαν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Ἑρκανίαν . . . προήγαγε τῷ Χριστῷ.

³ Rawlinson *Parthia*, 1893, 192-194; Gardner *The Parthian Coinage*, 1897, 10.

⁴ Darmesteter *Vendidad*, Introd. ii (*The Zend-Avesta*, S. B. E., 1895, pt. i).

to awaken again the ancient faith in the pilgrim. Princehood was to be gained by loyalty to the religion of his spiritual forbears. The high record and perpetuation of his loyalty was to have his name inscribed and read out among those who had been true. In Avestan literature there is a document that uniquely answers the demand for source of idea. At the close of the *Farvardin Yasht* (xxiv-xxx)—the chant of the heroic, nurturing, spiritual ancestors—occur the long lists of the immortal heroes and princes of faith, the Fravashis. Moreover the great text, of which the *Yasht* is an exposition, is to be found in the words: 'And the man who in life shall treat the Fravashis of the faithful well (i. e. is loyal to the ancestral faith), will become a ruler of the country with full power, and a most strong chief.'¹ Besides being a summary of the *Yasht*'s teaching, that passage is also the completer interpretation of the passage from the Hymn referred to, and the idea of which most evidently is implicit from the beginning to the end of the poem. What in this belief leads up to the welcoming of the faithful into the common-weal of the royal Fravashis? At its base is a metaphysical dualism—there is a world of the body and a world of the spirit. That belief is reflected chiefly in the concept of man; or rather is in the meaning of the term, Fravashi. Therein is man who can be in this world; and also 'that which is like unto him but stands apart', or 'is that which nourishes him'.² There is no need to discuss the ritual dualism of the Fravashi cult; for its practical instruments are outside the thought of the Hymn. Thus the phase of Fravashism that the writer of the Hymn has absorbed is very old and in harmony with the Gâthas. Following what indications there are in them and the *Yasht*, it is to be concluded that the habitation of the Fravashis is not in a heaven, but in the family-group which is ever being enlarged by the home-coming of the faithful younger members; whereupon the pilgrim and his nourisher or spiritual self become one. If this is the simple substructure of the Fravashi cult, it is not less such for the Hymn. The coming into the conditions of princehood have been explained by an underlying Fravashism. The putting off and the putting on of the princely regalia—the spiritual self or 'garment' in whose beauty he saw his 'whole self'³—is Fravashi doctrine raised to poetic values. The

¹ *Farvardin Yasht* i 18.

² Upon the whole subject of Fravashi see Söderblom *Les Fravashis* (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*), 1899, 229-260, 373-418, also *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, 1901, 1-16; Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, Article in *Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* s.v. The same scholar had suggested that Fravashism might be in the Hymn, *J. T. S.*, 1902, 514 ff.

³ Hymn, 76-78:

'For we were two in distinction
And yet again one in likeness.'

reassertion of his early religion, or the remembering that he was 'the son of kings', is not, as Professor Bevan thought, due to the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence; it is an expression of the attendant functions of the Fravashi. The Syrian poet has reset the doctrine, which was expressed in poetic form, in poetry which also has personal religious values.

II. *A suggestion as to authorship.*

Who was the author of the Hymn? Opinion has not yet gone beyond the suggestions of two British scholars: Professor Burkitt has declared for Bardesan, and Professor Bevan has thought the poem to be Bardisanian. We do not yet know the measure of that writer.¹ The foregoing interpretation would appear to put aside his claim to the authorship of the Hymn. For in it three high and old authorities concur to associate the names of Cerdon and Marcion—the teacher and his scholar—where the Hymn expresses its and Marcion's two most individual conceptions; namely, the concept of the Demiurgos as the Dragon and that of the Spiritual Lord. Tertullian specifically states the conjunction of the two writers in the idea of the two gods—the Judaic and the Christian, the creator of the evil and the good God.² Pseudo-Tertullian again draws together these two names through the dual concept just mentioned, and because the two men were in the relationship of teacher and taught; also it is significant to remark that the Demiurgos in the *Adversus Marcionem* is given the form of a Dragon.³ Thirdly, Leo the Great, whose theological knowledge was accurate and extensive, evidently classed the concepts of the Dragon and of the Spiritual Lord as being the peculiar teaching of Cerdon and Marcion.⁴ According to the above interpretative analysis the Hymn gives expressions to these very concepts. Early haeresiologists maintain that the dualism represented by them was taught by Cerdon to Marcion.⁵ Moreover, what biographical hints their notices afford harmonize with the autobiographical matter in the Hymn. For instance, the poet tells how he was a stranger to them with whom he dwelt, and how

One of my race, a free-born man
From among the Easterns, I beheld there

(Follows a defect in the text)

¹ Cf. Nau *Bardesane l'Astrologe*, 1899; Haase *Zur Bardesanischen Gnosis*, 1910; Buonaiuti, *Lo Gnosticismo*, 1907, 182 f.

² See above in Analysis, couplets 11-15.

³ Also under couplets 11-15.

⁴ Also under couplets 11-15; cf. *Acta Iohannis* c. xiii.

⁵ Hippolytus, x 19; Epiphanius *Panarion* iii 41; Philastrius *De Haeresibus*, 44.

and he came and attached himself to me.
 And I made him my intimate,
 A comrade with whom I shared my merchandise.
 I warned him against the Egyptians
 And against consorting with the unclean (23-28).

It is well known that Marcion of Pontus met Cerdon in Rome and learnt from his lore. What are the above lines but a transcript in Cerdon's own language of their meeting? Even to the type of spiritual wealth he passed on to his pupil the lines bear witness. It may be remarked also that Cerdon appears to have chosen Marcion not only because he was 'from among the Easterns', but also because he was an aristocrat. The 'son of kings' chose 'a free born man'. Tertullian was aware of Marcion's aristocraticism. The fact seems to have rankled in the brilliant Carthaginian's mind.¹ Another instance is to be found in those lines of the Hymn where the poet speaks thus: 'I put on a garb like theirs',² that is like the Egyptians or the unclean. In other words, the poet says that he put off his own spiritual robes and put on the grosser garments of the official Christian belief in Rome in which God as the Creator of the physical was acknowledged. It is history that Cerdon attempted to assimilate himself to the Church in Rome.³ His assimilation was not successful. He wore their clothing with an air. For he writes: 'In some way or another they perceived that I was not their countryman.'⁴ Pseudo-Tertullian appears to have known this when he wrote in his valuable notice of Cerdon:

Detectus, quoniam voces et verba veneni
 Spargebat furtim.

A third instance logically completes the autobiography of the other two. It is known that Cerdon broke from the Church. Thus the Hymn records:

And their filthy and unclean garb
 I stripped off and left in their country (62).

He cast aside the Hebraized Christianity of Rome and remade the Fravashi assent. Historical consent to this conclusion is to be found in Marcion's Christianity freed, as it was, from the notions of divine creatorship for the physical and based, on its cosmological side, upon a spiritual dualism. In the light of these most intimate harmonies between teacher and pupil some new significance is lent to a piece of literary history contained in Ephrem Syrus. In that Father's *Fifth Discourse to Hypatius*⁵ occurs the statement: 'But as for Mani and Marcion, the one before and the other after, with Bardesan in the

¹ Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* iv 4.

² Hymn, 29-35.

³ Cf. Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* iii 4. 2.

⁴ Hymn, 31.

⁵ Ed. Mitchell, 1912, xcvi; cf. xcix.

middle, one enquiry is directed against the three of them. But let Marcion be asked first as (being) the first.' The precedence given to Marcion's views is accompanied by another striking fact: side by side with them are indubitable summaries of the contents of the Hymn. The poem is used in this discourse by Ephrem as a Marcionite document. Therefore Bardesan is not the influencer but the influenced according to the temporal order maintained twice in the same composition from the pen of this noted Syrian writer. Cerdon can claim the Hymn. Then he is no longer a pale voiceless figure in the history of second century thought. His voice has now a certain exquisite power of compulsion.

Ephrem's use of the Hymn offers further help to the arguments which have led to the suggestion of Cerdon. He does not mention the latter's name in his Hypatian discourses: but as it has been said he evidently considers the Hymn to be a Marcionite document, else he would not so intertwine the summaries of its lines with the doctrines of Marcionism that they explain the latter. Two passages from Ephrem's Fifth Discourse will serve to cover the Hymn and also the Syrian Father's interpretation of it.

'For if the Soul came from a Place, as they say, who know not what they say, how and why is it not able to return to its natural place? For if it was sent forth when it was a child it was here that it received understanding, and that Place which was deprived of Intelligence was abandoned by it. And if when it was possessed of knowledge it was conducted on its way, how did it leave understanding behind? And if the Body perturbed it and so it forgot, as long as it is associated with the Body it is forgetful.'

Taking the sentences in order of this first citation it will be seen that the spiritualized Parthia of the Hymn has become a 'Place'. The word is an abstract one—the Geography of the Spirit has now been learnt in the Schools—but it means the same territory, the country of the Over-ones where was the very gold of Truth. The second sentence with its reference to the child setting forth on its journey retains too much of the original poem that it could have come from any other source. Then the whole prologue to the Roman experience recorded in the Hymn is in these two sentences. The third sentence establishes conclusively that the wealth of the pilgrim was spiritual—Ephrem says that he 'received understanding'. The after part of this sentence is cloudy. Certainly the putting off of the robe is being described. Ephrem is not quite sure whether the Place or the pilgrim is 'deprived' of wealth. Still it is evident that he refers to the disrobing, and that the disrobing is the leaving behind of garnered riches; and also that there was a going down from or an abandonment of the Place on the

part of the pilgrim. The question that follows, 'and if when it was possessed of knowledge it was conducted on its way, how did it leave understanding behind?', not only makes verbal allusion to the Hymn as is to be seen from couplets 9-10, &c., it also reaffirms the interpretation that finds in the pilgrim's pack spiritual riches which he could both take with him and yet leave behind him in pristine beauty as the Partho-Syrian faith taught. The fourth and last sentence of the citation is a further reaffirmation of the dualistic scheme by means of its three assertions—(1) the body perturbs the soul; (2) this perturbation is the cause of the pilgrim's forgetfulness (the soul and the pilgrim are one in Ephrem's summary); (3) so long as the body rules over the soul the pilgrim will forget. The harmony is sure between Ephrem's understanding of the Hymn and the interpretative analysis given above. Also his epitome, seeing that it is in an exposition of Marcion's views, will bear the weight of the dogmatic and historic conclusions cognate to the three assertions and concerning Cerdon. These conclusions are set forth in the above analysis.

The second passage from Ephrem to be noticed is a continuation of the first. He writes: 'And if it is forgetful, how do the false teachers teach it to remember anything that it has forgotten? It actually lost its knowledge and a borrowed Voice teaches it again, it lost all its understanding, and a buzzing sound in the ear makes it remember! . . . For, moreover a Soul has no need of another Soul to lean on to teach. For as wild animals are not dependent on one another because that animal life is part of their nature, so one Soul is not dependent upon another in the matter of knowledge because their essential knowledge is the same, if, as they say, the Essence of "all the Souls is one"'.¹

It will be seen that this citation is taken up with the theme of how lost knowledge is regained; as Ephrem with part-misunderstanding will describe the condition of the pilgrim soul. He says that a 'borrowed voice' and a 'buzzing sound in the ear' bring back remembrance. The functions of the Letter sent from the royal Parthian homeland were a speaking voice and a sound of movement like birds' wings; and these both spake anew and actuated unto remembrance the ancestral message written in the pilgrim's heart. Once more the verbal reproduction of the Hymn in Ephrem's summary should be underlined. And as before direct allusion is mingled with keen comment that betrays knowledge on the later Syrian's part. Indeed, many of the tortuous phrases in Ephrem are often due to the amount of what he knows. His clouds come from light. Thus he is found to be acquainted with Fravashism in the Hymn when he challenges the idea of a learning

¹ Mitchell, cvii-cviii; cf. cix for the same concept of 'Place'.

and a teaching soul, and the dependence of one soul upon another for the impartation of spiritual wealth. If the first citation covers the Hymn from its opening to the moment of the pilgrim's forgetfulness towards his native belief because he has absorbed Roman Judaic Christianity, then the second citation takes up the subject-matter of the Hymn from his awakening until the last line where the robe and the ring become his with all the dignities of a faithful prince. Ephrem's discourse goes on to develop the dualism behind these two passages with such distinct Marcionite colour in the language that it can be discussed only in a treatment of the Pontic thinker's religion. But the name of Marcion calls up the name of the teacher from whom he learnt the spiritual dualism which was the foundation of his own theology. And Ephrem Syrus helps to restore an unfading inheritance to Cerdon.¹

VACHER BURCH.

¹ Additional note for couplets 16-20. The source of the conjunction of Pearl and Dragon may perhaps be traced to early relations in the pearl industry between China and the district of the Persian Gulf. Those relations go back to the fifth century B.C. (Jackson *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, 1917, 98). Kwangtze, the Taoist writer of the fourth century B.C., records the ancient physiographic fact that great pearls are found in deep waters under the chin of a black dragon (Legge *S. B. E.* 40. 211). He gives to pearl no symbolic meaning. Thus Chinese industrial and natural history harmonize with the place of *Maridan* in the Hymn. Moreover, the Hymn has syriacized and spiritualized the ancient physiographical notion where it speaks of the Pearl in the midst of the sea watched by the dragon. When the Pearl passes into Chinese-Moslem literature it becomes the symbol of God, e.g. 21. *The Four Character Classic for the recognition of the Precious Pearl (God) of the Arabs* (Ogilvie and Zwemer *A descriptive bibliography of books on Islam in Chinese and Chinese-Arabic; Chinese Manuscripts* 1917, 6:4). Its symbolization of Jesus Christ in Syrian usage later than the Hymn, and especially in ritual, is well known (e.g. Saeki *The Nestorian Mission in China*, 1916, 13).

THE LATIN SOURCES OF THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

PREFACE.

THE following enquiry into the Latin sources of Pelagius's Commentary on 'Romans' was begun some three years ago. Perhaps it may not be amiss to explain how the work came to be attempted. It is the outcome of a suggestion I ventured to make to my old teacher Dr A. Souter, Regius Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, that I should undertake some work of research which, while of sufficient value in itself, might also be subsidiary, if possible, to his own labours. He was good enough to prescribe the task of investigating the sources of Pelagius's Commentary, and though I undertook it with considerable diffidence, I felt it an honour to be allowed to work in a small corner of the field which he has made so peculiarly his own. At the outset it seemed not impossible that the results of such an enquiry might be largely negative, but it was seen at an early stage that the work, though not unproductive of positive results, was going to be arduous as well as fruitful. It has therefore been limited in scope, and, although something has now been achieved, it is a matter of regret to me that as yet I can submit only the partial results of an investigation which I hope some day to be able to complete.

The work has many defects. It has been carried on during vacations and in such moments as it has been possible to rescue from the claims of exacting professional duties. This may account for inconsistencies and a general lack of cohesion which might otherwise have been avoided. Furthermore, it is the work of a scholar, not of a theologian. Of course in attempting to estimate the debt of one commentator to another an effort has been made to understand not only the comments but also the matter commented on. At the outset the inexperience of the writer led him to suppose that whenever he had any difficulty in understanding St Paul's doctrine, he had merely to consult a modern commentary and the difficulty would disappear. This hope proved illusory. The commentaries I occasionally used—not British commentaries, it may be said—certainly spoke with authority, but they were on the whole not helpful and were reluctantly abandoned. It was different with the admirable exposition of 'Romans' by Drs Sanday and Headlam, which I regret did not come into my hands until the present work was practically completed, and which was of the utmost

assistance to me in my attempt to deal with some of the difficulties of Romans viii and x. It was most comforting for a beginner to read a work of such standing that few can be sure remain that they have really understood the main matter of Romans, and that St Paul himself never squarred about the problem of Free-will and Predestination. I have therefore felt that it is not my province to attempt anything in the nature of a general statement of the doctrine of Pelagius, or to compare him in general terms with the writers from whom he seems to have borrowed. Thus far my work must prove disappointing to theologian-rites. The method adopted has been simply to read the statement of Pelagius and compare it with the corresponding¹ and usually longer statement of the earlier writer. It may be objected that this method makes it impossible to see the forest for the trees. It serves at any rate to establish many definite points of contact and generalizations may be safely left to those who are better qualified than I to make them. I have ventured to insert, and in a few cases to quote verbatim, those sections which seem to contain something of particular interest or significance, and if some of the other sections appear to deal with matters of some importance, it must be remembered that they are included for their value as cumulative evidence. It is hoped that the fruits of the work will be forgiven to one who, though a theologian, has at least been sufficiently interested in his subject to attempt to do for him what is yet no theologian seems to have done.

If there be any truth in the saying that every Scotoman has a natural taste for theology, the present writer has no need to account for his being deeply interested in his subject. Apart, however, from his profound significance as a theological writer Pelagius is a fascinating and somewhat melancholy figure. By a curious irony of fate he was excommunicated as a heretic by the same Church which afterwards shewed no particular distaste for some of his heresies. The more one studies him, the more one feels that he was not consciously or deliberately a heretic. He was no schemer or trampler-down of established creeds. He wrote at a time when the doctrines of the Church were not all crystallized or precisely defined and he merely expressed many of the beliefs that were current in his time. His view of Predestination he seems to have taken from Ambrosius. His doctrine of Original Sin appears to have come from the same source. In his insistence on the freedom of the will he was doubtless influenced by Origen, through the transmission of Irenaeus. If he was not a heretic, unlimited powers to the "Good Will" in its eternal conflict with the

¹ It will be shown, however, e.g. in Rom. ix. 1, 2, that Pelagius's definition of the will always come from the surrounding passage in the *Latin Vulgate*.

'Habit of Sin', and to underestimate the need for Divine Grace, one must remember that he probably lived a life of monastic seclusion from the world and its temptations. He had not passed through the experience of Augustine. One feels he must have been surprised and distressed to find himself arraigned as a heretic. Not that he could not defend himself with vigour. He could, and did, maintain the truth of his doctrines, but he insisted at the same time that they were orthodox. In A.D. 420 he was driven from the pale of the Church. History is silent as to his subsequent life. His excommunication must have wounded him deeply, and it is probable he did not long survive the blow.

The present attempt to contribute a few facts to the sum-total of our knowledge of Pelagius was, as has been said, undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Souter. I feel I cannot adequately acknowledge the unfailing encouragement and help I have received from him at all stages of the work. Chief among his many kindnesses has been the use he permitted me to make of the MS draft of his restored text of Pelagius. All my quotations from the Commentary are taken from this text¹ and not from the corrupt Migne edition. For the gift and loan of books necessary to my work I owe him most grateful thanks. He has always been ready to suspend his own labours to talk about Pelagius or to help me in other ways. How much I have learned when we were thus 'Pelagianizing' together it would be impossible to say. I can only acknowledge the debt in the hope that the good seed has not all been sown in vain.

Appended is a brief bibliography:

- A. Souter *The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: The Problem of its Restoration* (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. ii. London 1907).
- A. Souter *The Character and History of Pelagius's Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul* (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. vii. London 1916).
- A. Souter *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Texts and Studies, vol. vii, no. 4. Cambridge 1905).
- A. Engelbrecht *Tyranni Rufini Opera, Pars I* [= C.S.E.L. 46]. Introduction (Vienna 1910).
- A. Bruckner *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelagianischen Streites* (Tübingen 1906).

¹ These quotations, while agreeing in the main with the final draft of the text as it will be published in Professor Souter's edition, are not to be taken as necessarily representing it in every particular. For instance, apart from possible errors in transcription, I have not reproduced variations of type designed to show *inter alia* Scripture passages incorporated in the comments.

Epistle to the Romans, 5th edition. Longmans, Green & Co.

C. H. Turner Article on Early Greek Colonization

Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

INTRODUCTION

Pelagius is our earliest British author and his works makes them well worthy of study. Commentaries on the Thirteen Epistles of Paul place. These commentaries, which were not printed except in a form which is a text of text and swarms with textual corruption. For instance, in the commentary on 'Romans' the number of editions, amount to over one-sixth of the whole. The scholar who has done any work on the subject is the great French writer, Richard Simon. It is that scholars did not study this question in the form of the commentary was known and it was not. On December 12, 1906, a paper was read by Professor Souter, in which he gave the original form of the Pelagius commentary. A manuscript of the Reichenau collection has been unanimously allowed by the committee. It is therefore based upon the restored text. In the Preface, was most kindly put at my disposal. This text, of course, contains none of the interpolations they have not as yet been edited. I have used them in my work. My study of these commentaries suggested to me that they were all by the same author, a Pelagian, not Pelagius. Professor Souter confirmed this view. He is preparing a new edition. The interpolations are by a Pelagian, and the appearance of the commentary relating to the interpolator will be published.

An enquiry into the complete...
whole commentary is most...

¹ This statement is hardly in paper cc. Pelagius, p. 14. It is apparently used by Pelagius.

various reasons to limit the investigation at present to the most influential and important part of the commentary, viz. that on 'Romans' and to Latin sources only, for Pelagius is a master of Latin and may be presumed at least to have used some Latin sources. If the propriety of this method of procedure be questioned, it may be mentioned here—what will be made explicit at a later stage—that the author used Rufinus's 'translation' of Origen rather than the original Origen. This at once suggests that the sources of the commentary were not predominantly or exclusively Greek, because Rufinus was known to his contemporaries to be extremely free in his handling of Greek originals. Further, there were in existence commentaries on certain of the Pauline Epistles by at least four predecessors of Pelagius, viz. Victorinus of Aquitaine, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and Augustine. Pelagius, it is true, mentions none of these or any other writers by name,¹ but it was the regular practice of ancient commentators to make use of the work of other writers without acknowledgement,² and it is absurd to suppose that a writer of such brief notes as those of Pelagius would assume an attitude of complete indifference to earlier productions on the same topic in his own language.

In seeking to discover possible Latin authorities used by our author, one has to remember, what was pointed out above, that none is actually named. Among Latin sources the most obvious are earlier Latin commentators. It is unsafe, however, to suppose that these alone were used, because there is clear evidence in Pelagius's other writings that he used Cyprian, Lactantius, and Ambrose, not one of whom commented on the Epistles of St Paul. In his commentary on 'Romans' Pelagius is fond of referring to the opinions of 'certain people', often with disapproval, sometimes with approval, and occasionally without expressing any opinion at all. An examination of these *Quidam* passages appears to shew, if the existing indexes can be trusted, that neither Tertullian nor Cyprian nor Novatian nor Lactantius nor Hilary is among the theological authors employed.³ We may assume, then, that little or no use was made of these writers, at least as far as the Epistle to the Romans is concerned. Our investigation is thus practically limited to surviving commentaries on 'Romans' whose date is known to be prior to that of Pelagius—say A.D. 409. It is not impossible that in commenting on 'Romans' Pelagius used commentaries on other parts of the Bible, but the proper course in an investigation like the present is to start with the obvious. A pioneer in an enquiry like this is entitled to the indulgence of the critics.

¹ Except such heretics as were also writers and are stigmatized by him.

² *Vid.* A. Souter *A Study of Ambrosiaster* pp. 7, 164.

³ For this statement I am indebted to Professor Souter.

The surviving Latin commentaries on 'Romans' prior to A. D. 409 are:

- (1) The Commentary of Ambrosiaster, about 375,
 - (2) Augustine, *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistula ad Romanos* and *Epistulae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio*, about 394,
 - (3) Rufinus's 'translation' of Origen, about 405.
- These we proceed to examine in detail.

PART I

THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON 'ROMANS' COMPARED WITH THAT OF AMBROSIASTER.

The text of the Ambrosiaster commentary here used is the famous Migne reprint (Paris 1879) of the Benedictine edition of 1699. This is selected as being the most readily accessible, but it is quite unsuited to the critical requirements of the present day. A critical edition by Father Brewer, S.J., is in preparation for the Vienna Corpus, in which the ancient editions will be distinguished. Some notion of the wide divergences between the MSS may be obtained both from the notes to the Benedictine edition and from Professor Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster* pp. 187-189. The list of MSS given by the Benedictine edition, p. 779 of the Venice edition, 1751, shews that almost all were of French provenance. In spite of their care, however, a great improvement must be made both in Scripture *lemmata* and in comments.

The general character of the commentary has been described by Professor Souter *op. cit.* pp. 6-8. Several of his remarks on Ambrosiaster could be applied with equal truth to Pelagius. As a rule, write brief comments, those of Pelagius being generally shorter. Both give practical, common-sense explanations, and both the Alexandrine or allegorical method of interpretation. Both writing for orthodox Christians, and in both 'the current opinions' are from time to time pointed out and stigmatized. There is, however, of course, their points of difference. The question of identity is still a matter of some doubt,¹ seems to me to be a matter of knowledge of affairs; Pelagius lived the life of a monk. Ambrosiaster had apparently little knowledge of Greek. Pelagius knew Greek well. With regard to the Epistle to the Romans, which neither wrote a commentary, Ambrosiaster did not, but Pauline; Pelagius did. In spite of these differences, however,

¹ The latest view, that of Dom G. Morin, O.S.B., *Revue Bénédictine*, 1914, pp. 1 ff.

² He certainly had no respect for Greek authorities.

can hardly be any doubt that Pelagius borrowed largely from the earlier commentator. To see this it is not perhaps necessary to read through all the notes that follow. A perusal of the asterisked sections will shew the most obvious and important points of contact. An interesting result of the comparison has been to establish the fact of a strong family resemblance between Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius in their comments on certain passages in 'Romans' (see, for instance, note 108 on Rom. viii 26). In some cases there appear to be points of contact between Ambrosiaster and Origen-Rufinus, where Pelagius has taken a line independent of either (see note 176). The edition used in quoting from Origen-Rufinus is that of Lommatzsch, vols. vi and vii, the former containing Rom. i to vi 11, and the latter Rom. vi 12 to xvi 27. When reference is made to any particular page, it will be easily understood which volume is meant.

1. Rom. i 1. There are few points of contact between P 669. 13-670. 20 and Ambstr. 49. 33-51. 8. Discussing Paul's change of name A says that it took place *postquam credidit* and, later, *cum ad fidem Christi accessit*, implying the 'progress and growth' of P 669. 15 f. Compare the *Item* interpolator 669, 20 f.

P's definition of *Evangelium* as *bona adnuntiatio* 670. 17 f resembles that of A 50. 28 *bonum nuntium* (acc.).

P 669. 23-29 regards the expression 'servus Iesu Christi' as an expression of humility. So A 49. 41 ff says that Paul among other things has now become humble.

2. Rom. i 2. One is not surprised to find both P and Ambstr. commenting on God's *promising the gospel* in nearly identical terms.

P 670. 28 f says (*Paulus*) *dicit quod et ante evangelium sit promissum*, while A 51. 11 has *iam prius Evangelium eius dicit (sc. Paulus) a Deo promissum*.

3. Rom. i 3. The whole of P's notes—670. 27 to 671. 3—appear to summarize Ambstr. 50. 1-19; 51. 37-52. 9.

As to the birth of Christ, P 670. 30-32 explains that Paul says that Christ was created according to the flesh of the stock of David, and adds 'that is, of the Virgin Mary', according to the prophesy of *Esaias*. With this compare, in particular, the conclusion of A's note 52, with the prophesy quoted in line 6 from Isa. vii 14, and also the variant in several MSS (19 on Ambstr. 51. 41) *Dei Filium ex Maria*. So also the interpolated passage in P 670. 36 *eo quod ex virgine natus est*.

P also, 670. 35, speaks of the birth of Christ in the flesh as being *dissimilis ceteris*; with which compare A 52. 4 f *quia ab humanae legis nativitate distaret*.

P 670. 38 explains 'factus' as *factus per spiritum sanctum*; with which

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A similar definition is given by Augustine *Inch. Expos.* § 8. This raises the question whether Ambrosiaster may not be the ultimate source of the comments of both Augustine and Pelagius.

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being the conquerors of the world and subjecting themselves to a new faith are also expressed in A 53. 45 f. The passages are:—

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omni mundo mirum fuit Romanos credidisse, qui idolorum nimia fuerant cultura possessi, ita ut *omnium gentium diis, quas vicerant, deservirent.*

Ambrosiaster.

Quod cum Romani regnarent in mundo, subiecerint se fidei Christianae.

9. **Rom. i 9.** Defining the phrase 'in spiritu meo' as *in toto corde meo et prompta devotione*, P—672. 9 f—is expressing two ideas which occur in Ambstr., viz. A 54. 38 *in mente*; 39 *spiritu vel animo*; 40 *animo*: also A 54. 48 *devotus animus*. The rest of P's note appears to be independent of Ambstr.

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It is interesting to note that the interpolator's expression *Eorum roboretur fides*—P 672. 38 f—may be an echo of Ambstr. 54. 17 f, on Rom. i 8, where he says *aut enim gaudebant roborati, qui crediderant*.

12. **Rom. i 12.** Pelagius's comm.—672. 41 f—is little more than a paraphrase of the verse. Note, however, the resemblance between his expression—*ut per communem fidem invicem consolemur*—and the following, from Ambstr. 56. 20 f *Ac per hoc consolemur, inquit, per unam atque eandem fidem*.

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Note further that Ambstr. 56. 37 ff, discussing the phrase 'vocatis sanctis' in Rom. i 7, says *hoc ad Dei pertinet praescientiam, quia quos*

'Habit of Sin', and to underestimate the need for Divine Grace, one must remember that he probably lived a life of monastic seclusion from the world and its temptations. He had not passed through the experience of Augustine. One feels he must have been surprised and distressed to find himself arraigned as a heretic. Not that he could not defend himself with vigour. He could, and did, maintain the truth of his doctrines, but he insisted at the same time that they were orthodox. In A.D. 420 he was driven from the pale of the Church. History is silent as to his subsequent life. His excommunication must have wounded him deeply, and it is probable he did not long survive the blow.

The present attempt to contribute a few facts to the sum-total of our knowledge of Pelagius was, as has been said, undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Souter. I feel I cannot adequately acknowledge the unfailing encouragement and help I have received from him at all stages of the work. Chief among his many kindnesses has been the use he permitted me to make of the MS draft of his restored text of Pelagius. All my quotations from the Commentary are taken from this text¹ and not from the corrupt Migne edition. For the gift and loan of books necessary to my work I owe him most grateful thanks. He has always been ready to suspend his own labours to talk about Pelagius or to help me in other ways. How much I have learned when we were thus 'Pelagianizing' together it would be impossible to say. I can only acknowledge the debt in the hope that the good seed has not all been sown in vain.

Appended is a brief bibliography :

- A. Souter *The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: The Problem of its Restoration* (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. ii. London 1907).
- A. Souter *The Character and History of Pelagius's Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul* (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. vii. London 1916).
- A. Souter *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Texts and Studies, vol. vii, no. 4. Cambridge 1905).
- A. Engelbrecht *Tyranni Rufini Opera, Pars I* [= C.S.E.L. 46]. Introduction (Vienna 1910).
- A. Bruckner *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelagianischen Streites* (Tübingen 1906).

¹ These quotations, while agreeing in the main with the final draft of the text as it will be published in Professor Souter's edition, are not to be taken as necessarily representing it in every particular. For instance, apart from possible errors in transcription, I have not reproduced variations of type designed to show *inter alia* Scripture passages incorporated in the comments.

Sanday and Headlam *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 5th edition (Edinburgh 1905).

R. Simon *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* pp. 236 ff (Rotterdam 1693).

C. H. Turner Article on Early Greek Commentaries in vol. v of Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Pelagius is our earliest British author, and the great significance of his works makes them well worthy of study. Among his writings the Commentaries on the Thirteen Epistles of St Paul take a prominent place. These commentaries, which were written about A. D. 409, are not printed except in a form which is at once of questionable authenticity and swarms with textual corruption. The interpolations, for instance, in the commentary on 'Romans' as printed in the Migne edition, amount to over one-sixth of the whole. Hitherto the only scholar¹ who has done any work on the sources of Pelagius's writings is the great French writer, Richard Simon. Perhaps it is just as well that scholars did not study this question fully before the precise content of the commentary was known and it was published in a pure text. On December 12, 1906, a paper was read before the British Academy by Professor Souter, in which he claimed to have discovered the original form of the Pelagius commentary in a text of great purity in a manuscript of the Reichenau collection at Karlsruhe. This claim has been unanimously allowed by the critics. The present enquiry is therefore based upon the restored text of Pelagius, which, as stated in the Preface, was most kindly put into my hands by Professor Souter. This text, of course, contains none of the interpolations, and though they have not as yet been edited, I have nevertheless taken account of them in my work. My study of those in the commentary on 'Romans' suggested to me that they were all written by the same hand and by a Pelagian, not Pelagius. Professor Souter with fuller knowledge confirmed this view. He is preparing an argument to prove that the interpolations are by a Pelagian, and were written within a generation of the appearance of the commentary. In the following work the passages relating to the interpolator will be found printed in small type.

An enquiry into the complete sources, both Greek and Latin, of the whole commentary is most desirable, but it has been thought better for

¹ This statement is hardly fair to Professor Souter. In his second *Academy* paper on Pelagius, p. 14, he mentions Ambrosiaster as one of the authorities apparently used by Pelagius. This is one of the fruits of his study of these authors.

various reasons to limit the investigation at present to the most influential and important part of the commentary, viz. that on 'Romans', and to Latin sources only, for Pelagius is a master of Latinity and may be presumed at least to have used some Latin sources. If the propriety of this method of procedure be questioned, it may be mentioned here—what will be made explicit at a later stage—that the author used Rufinus's 'translation' of Origen rather than the original Origen. This at once suggests that the sources of the commentary were not predominantly or exclusively Greek, because Rufinus was known to his contemporaries to be extremely free in his handling of Greek originals. Further, there were in existence commentaries on certain of the Pauline Epistles by at least four predecessors of Pelagius, viz. Victorinus Afer, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and Augustine. Pelagius, it is true, mentions none of these or any other writers by name,¹ but it was the regular practice of ancient commentators to make use of the work of other writers without acknowledgement,² and it is absurd to suppose that a writer of such brief notes as those of Pelagius would assume an attitude of complete indifference to earlier productions on the same topic in his own language.

In seeking to discover possible Latin authorities used by our author, one has to remember, what was pointed out above, that none is actually named. Among Latin sources the most obvious are earlier Latin commentators. It is unsafe, however, to suppose that these alone were used, because there is clear evidence in Pelagius's other writings that he used Cyprian, Lactantius, and Ambrose, not one of whom commented on the Epistles of St Paul. In his commentary on 'Romans' Pelagius is fond of referring to the opinions of 'certain people', often with disapproval, sometimes with approval, and occasionally without expressing any opinion at all. An examination of these *Quidam* passages appears to shew, if the existing indexes can be trusted, that neither Tertullian nor Cyprian nor Novatian nor Lactantius nor Hilary is among the theological authors employed.³ We may assume, then, that little or no use was made of these writers, at least as far as the Epistle to the Romans is concerned. Our investigation is thus practically limited to surviving commentaries on 'Romans' whose date is known to be prior to that of Pelagius—say A.D. 409. It is not impossible that in commenting on 'Romans' Pelagius used commentaries on other parts of the Bible, but the proper course in an investigation like the present is to start with the obvious. A pioneer in an enquiry like this is entitled to the indulgence of the critics.

¹ Except such heretics as were also writers and are stigmatized by him.

² *Vid.* A. Souter *A Study of Ambrosiaster* pp. 7, 164.

³ For this statement I am indebted to Professor Souter.

The surviving Latin commentaries on 'Romans' prior to A. D. 409 are:

- (1) The Commentary of Ambrosiaster, about 375,
- (2) Augustine, *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistula ad Romanos* and *Epistulae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio*, about 394,
- (3) Rufinus's 'translation' of Origen, about 405.

These we proceed to examine in detail.

PART I

THE COMMENTARY OF PELAGIUS ON 'ROMANS' COMPARED WITH THAT OF AMBROSIASTER.

The text of the Ambrosiaster commentary here used is the faulty Migne reprint (Paris 1879) of the Benedictine edition of 1690. This is selected as being the most readily accessible, but it is quite unsuited to the critical requirements of the present day. A critical edition by Father Brewer, S.J., is in preparation for the Vienna Corpus, in which the ancient editions will be distinguished. Some notion of the wide divergences between the MSS may be obtained both from the notes in the Benedictine edition and from Professor Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster* pp. 187-189. The list of MSS given by the Benedictines in vol. iv p. 779 of the Venice edition, 1751, shews that almost all were of French provenance. In spite of their care, however, a great improvement can be made both in Scripture *lemmata* and in comments.

The general character of the commentary has been described by Professor Souter *op. cit.* pp. 6-8. Several of his remarks about Ambrosiaster could be applied with equal truth to Pelagius. Both, as a rule, write brief comments, those of Pelagius being generally the shorter. Both give practical, common-sense explanations, and avoid the Alexandrine or allegorical method of interpretation. Both are writing for orthodox Christians, and in both 'the current heretical errors are from time to time pointed out and stigmatized'. The two writers have, of course, their points of difference. Ambrosiaster, whose identity is still a matter of some doubt,¹ seems to have had a practical knowledge of affairs; Pelagius lived the life of a monk and a student. Ambrosiaster had apparently little knowledge of Greek²; Pelagius knew Greek well. With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, on which neither wrote a commentary, Ambrosiaster did not regard it as Pauline; Pelagius did. In spite of these differences, however, there

¹ The latest view, that of Dom G. Morin, O.S.B., is that he was Evagrius of Antioch—vid. *Revue Benedictine*, 1914, pp. 1 ff.

² He certainly had no respect for Greek authorities: see on Rom. v 14.

can hardly be any doubt that Pelagius borrowed largely from the earlier commentator. To see this it is not perhaps necessary to read through all the notes that follow. A perusal of the asterisked sections will shew the most obvious and important points of contact. An interesting result of the comparison has been to establish the fact of a strong family resemblance between Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius in their comments on certain passages in 'Romans' (see, for instance, note 108 on Rom. viii 26). In some cases there appear to be points of contact between Ambrosiaster and Origen-Rufinus, where Pelagius has taken a line independent of either (see note 176). The edition used in quoting from Origen-Rufinus is that of Lommatsch, vols. vi and vii, the former containing Rom. i to vi 11, and the latter Rom. vi 12 to xvi 27. When reference is made to any particular page, it will be easily understood which volume is meant.

1. Rom. i 1. There are few points of contact between P 669. 13-670. 20 and Ambstr. 49. 33-51. 8. Discussing Paul's change of name A says that it took place *postquam credidit* and, later, *cum ad fidem Christi accessit*, implying the 'progress and growth' of P 669. 15 f. Compare the *Item* interpolator 669, 20 f.

P's definition of *Evangelium* as *bona adnuntiatio* 670. 17 f resembles that of A 50. 28 *bonum nuntium* (acc.).

P 669. 23-29 regards the expression 'servus Iesu Christi' as an expression of humility. So A 49. 41 ff says that Paul among other things has now become humble.

2. Rom. i 2. One is not surprised to find both P and Ambstr. commenting on God's *promising the gospel* in nearly identical terms.

P 670. 28 f says (*Paulus*) *dicit quod et ante evangelium sit promissum*, while A 51. 11 has *iam prius Evangelium eius dicit (sc. Paulus) a Deo promissum*.

3. Rom. i 3. The whole of P's notes—670. 27 to 671. 3—appear to summarize Ambstr. 50. 1-19; 51. 37-52. 9.

As to the birth of Christ, P 670. 30-32 explains that Paul says that Christ was created according to the flesh of the stock of David, and adds 'that is, of the Virgin Mary', according to the prophesy of Esaias. With this compare, in particular, the conclusion of A's note 52, with the prophesy quoted in line 6 from Isa. vii 14, and also the variant in several MSS (19 on Ambstr. 51. 41) *Dei Filium ex Maria*. So also the interpolated passage in P 670. 36 *eo quod ex virgine natus est*.

P also, 670. 35, speaks of the birth of Christ in the flesh as being *dissimilis ceteris*; with which compare A 52. 4 f *quia ab humanae legis nativitate distaret*.

P 670. 38 explains 'factus' as *factus per spiritum sanctum*; with which

cf. Ambstr. 51. 38 f *qui erat Dei Filius secundum Spiritum sanctum*, and also 52. 2 f *factus opere Spiritus sancti de Virgine, hoc est natus*. The reference to the Virgin in this latter passage again recalls the passage in P 670. 31, alluded to above. There are further references to the Spirit and the Virgin in the interpolated passages P 671. 5-9.

There are references to Photinus both in P 671. 1 and Ambstr. 50. 11 f. According to A, the Jews and Photinus thought that Paul denied the divinity of Jesus, whereas Paul, as Ambstr. points out, uses the terms 'Jesus' and 'Christ' indifferently to denote both the divine and the human Jesus. In view of this it is a little difficult to see how 'by adding "according to the flesh" Paul refuted Photinus'; 'for', Pelagius continues, 'if he (*sc.* Christ) was made according to the flesh, he was assuredly not made according to the substance of the word'. Ambstr. 51. 38-46 says that Christ was both.

Perhaps this is one of the cases where Pelagius takes one portion of a comment and rejects or neglects another, for, as will be shewn later, he seems to have taken the latter part of his comment from Augustine's *Inchoata Expositio* § 4.

4. **Rom. i 4.** The comm. of P and A touch one another in two places. P 671. 9 f says that Christ was declared to be the son of God with power *ut sit in omnibus ipse primum tenens*. Compare the reference to Christ becoming Lord of all (Ambstr. 52. 32).

Both comm. speak of the resurrection of Christ as paving the way for a general resurrection. Pelagius's qualification—671. 17 ff—*non omnium resurgentium, sed ad Christum pertinentium etc.*, which seems to be implied in Ambstr. 52. 38 *ut redimeret nos*, is doubtless taken from Augustine *Inch. Expos.* § 5.

5. **Rom. i 5.** Both comm. here make use of the expression *vice* followed by a genitive. Ambstr. 52. 48 speaks of the apostles receiving power *ut vice Domini signis doctrinam Dominicam acceptabilem facerent*; and Pelag. 671. 30 says *Vice nominis eius fungimur*.

Ambstr. 53. 2 says *Missos igitur apostolos vocat*. With this cf. Pelag. 671. 22 f, also 31, and Origen-Rufinus I 7 p. 30.

6. **Rom. i 6.** Pelagius's expression—671. 35—*apostolatam accepimus* conveys the same idea as that used by Ambstr. 53. 12 *legatione nobis fungentibus*.

*7. **Rom. i 7.** Pelagius in his notes on this verse—671. 36-49—has made great use of Ambstr. 53. 20-40.

In explaining 'omnibus qui sunt Romae' as *omnibus credentibus*, P is obviously following Ambstr. 53. 20-23, who says that Paul is addressing those *qui de Dei Filio recte sentiunt*, and again, in line 30 *qui recte credunt*.

P's short note—671. 39 f—*sanctis vocatione dei non merito sanctitatis*

is in keeping with Ambstr. 53. 23-27. Compare also Augustine *Inch. Expos.* § 7.

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Note further that Ambstr. 56. 37 ff, discussing the phrase 'vocatis sanctis' in Rom. i 7, says *hoc ad Dei pertinet praescientiam, quia quos*

scit Deus futuros sanctos etc. With this compare P on Rom. i 1—669. 33 f—*Iam in praescientia ad hoc vocatus etc.* The comm. of Ambstr., above quoted, on the foreknowledge of God, has, of course, many parallels in Pelagius, e.g. P 711. 31 and 48; 712. 15; 715. 25; 722. 35. So also in Origen-Rufinus, e.g. I 3 p. 18 on Rom. i 1.

P does not take his explanation of 'prohibitus' from Ambstr. The short note which follows—672. 53 f—is a mere gloss and quite unlike that of A.

14. Rom. i 14. Pelagius's remark—672. 58 f—*apud quos omnis philosophia est* looks very like a summing up of Ambstr. 57. 24–28.

Ambrosiaster takes Greeks, Barbarians, wise, and unwise to represent four categories, Pelagius makes only two. Ambstr. explains 'the Greeks' in this verse to mean those Gentiles who are called Romans either by nationality or adoption. P, with his usual disregard for elaborating small points, says simply *Sapientes Grecos . . . barbaros insipientes appellat*. [Note the chiasmic order of words. There is another example at P 678. 3—see note 27. Pelagius is fond of chiasmus.]

15. Rom. i 16. Pelagius in his comm. on this verse has taken a line which seems on the whole independent of either Origen-Rufinus or Ambstr. His notes, however, shew three slight traces of the influence of A. He says—673. 14—*simul et illos hereticos tangit etc.*, and the word *tangit* may have been a recollection of Ambstr. 57. 48—*Hoc dicto illos tangit etc.* Both commentators point out that Paul is here referring to certain heretics.

In his comm. on 'virtus enim dei est in salutem'—*Nulla maior virtus est quam quae DEVICTA MORTE homini perditam reddidit vitam*—Pelagius, 673. 22, may have been echoing Ambstr. 58. 12 f *Praedicatio enim crucis Christi indicium est* [*v. l. iudicium est*] *MORTIS EVICTAE*.

Lastly, both comm. insist on the importance of faith. Pelagius—673. 27 ff—in his first alternative exposition of 'Iudaeo primum et Greco' says *quod iustum fuerit, ut, quo modo Habraham credens . . . per solam . . . fidem salvatus est, ita ceteri credentes salvarentur*. So Ambstr. 58. 27 f says *Si ergo et Iudaeus non iustificatur, nisi per fidem Christi Iesu, etc.*

16. Rom. i 17. Pelagius's comm. on this verse shew little signs of dependence on Ambstr. In his alternative exposition, however, 673. 29 ff, his allusion to the *truthfulness* of God in fulfilling His promises may almost be paralleled by Ambstr. 58. 51 f *negat enim (sc. iniustus) VERACEM Deum, qui non credit Deum dedisse quod promisit*. Compare P, loc. cit., *quod illud testamentum, quod per legem deus VERAX promiserat, etc.*

It is curious that the interpolator—P 673. 34—again makes use of the word *roborari*. So also in the interpolated passage in P 672. 35–39 the word *roboratur*

occurs in a comm. on Rom. i 8. With this latter cf. *roborati*, Ambstr. 54. 17 in a comm. on verse 8.

P's exposition of 'ex fide in fidem' is totally unlike that of Ambstr.

17. Rom. i 18. P's comm. on this verse are much fuller than those of Ambstr., and there are considerable interpolations. His comment in 673. 55 *sive per naturae testimonium* quite accords with Ambstr. 59. 21-23, where occur the two phrases *naturalem legem* and *legem naturae*. The point of both comm. is the same, that by this natural law the wrath of God can be apprehended: cf. A 65. 24.

Pelagius's note, beginning *Ideo dixit* 'in omnem', *quia tres esse videntur impietates*, 673. 59 to 674. 12, is so obviously independent of Ambstr. that it is hardly worth looking for a parallel between A 59. 25 f—*sed impii facti sunt NON COLENDO Creatorem*—and P 674. 10 ff—*ut impietas ad INIURIAM DEI . . . pertinere videatur*.

The interpolator, however, at P 674. 15 f, seems to have made some use of Ambstr. Compare the two passages:

Ambstr. 59. 26-28.

Pelag. 674. 15-16.

iniustitia in eis apparet, dum videntes	Item: Scientes delinquent, qui, Dei
dissimulant a veritate, non fatentes	veritate agnita, iniuste agunt.
unum Deum.	

There is some similarity also in expression.

18. Rom. i 19. Ambstr. has quite a short note here—59. 30-36—the point of which is that the invisible God is made manifest by the visible universe which He has created. So the interpolator—P 674. 21 ff—says *invisibilis Deus manifestatur hominibus ex his operibus quae operatus est et operatur*. Pelagius is not content with mere affirmation, but launches out into a proof that the fact of a universe of created things necessarily implies the existence of a creator—P 674. 29-52.

19. Rom. i 20. As this verse is something of an amplification of v. 19, the comm. of Pelagius and Ambstr. are again in accord, but P can hardly be said to shew dependence on A.

20. Rom. i 21. The comm. of Ambstr. and Pelagius proceed on different lines, there being only one point where they appear to converge.

On the words 'Et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum', Ambstr. 60. 29-33 says *Nebula erroris texit cor illorum, quia, cum Creatorem ex iis, quae fecit pulchra, amplius honorificare debuerint, obtusi sunt, relicto illo, haec sola dicentes sibi sufficere ad culturam, quae videntur*.

So Pelagius commenting on 'Evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis' says—675. 16 f—'Evanuerunt' *a naturali sapore, creaturas pro creatore venerando*. Cf. also P 674. 53 ff.

***21. Rom. i 22-23.** The comm. of P on these verses—675. 18-34—are quite in the spirit of Ambstr. Some things P obviously does not owe either to Ambstr. or to Origen-Rufinus, e.g. his allusion to the worshippers of Jupiter—675. 30 ff; 673. 6 ff.

On the other hand, his short comment, 675. 18 f, on verse 21 *Recedens a lumine veritatis*, may have been suggested by the allusion of Ambstr. to the 'wise' of verse 22, *apud quos plus potest imago quam veritas*. And then follows *A vivo enim Deo recedentes*—Ambstr. 61. 18–20. Cf. Ambstr. 63. 4 f *In Deo autem manet veritas*.

Both comm. also point out the heinousness of changing the glory of God not into man but into the likeness of man. P 675. 28 ff says *nec in hominis solum, sed in imaginis hominis* (sc. *similitudinem mutaverunt* etc.). So Ambstr. 61. 9 ff *ut maiestatem invisibilis Dei, quem ex his factis agnoverant, non hominibus [or in homines] sed quod peius est, et inexcusabile crimen, in similitudinem hominum mutarent*.

Thirdly, both comm. remark on the foolishness of the professing wise who fail to see how much greater is the Creator than any of his creations; cf. Ambstr. 60. 39 f *cum si haec laudanda sint, quanto magis Creator illorum!* and Pelag. 674. 57 ff *quanto magis factorem sempiternum et omni potentem et immensum esse intellegere potuerunt* (on Rom. i 19).

22. Rom. i 24. There is something in common between the definition given by Ambstr. 62. 15 f of 'tradere'—*Tradere autem est permittere, non incitare aut inmittere*—and that of Pelag. 675. 41 ff—*Tradere in scripturis dicitur deus, cum non retinet delinquentes propter arbitrii libertatem*. Compare also the interpolator—P 675. 39—who uses the word *patitur*. The idea of man's *arbitrii libertas*, which occurs also in Orig.-Ruf. I 18 p. 57, is also implied in Ambstr. e.g. 62. 10 where he says that men were allowed to do *quae desiderabant*.

P's comments on 'in inmunditiam | , ut contumeliis adficiant corpora sua | inter semet ipsos' are independent of Ambstr.

23. Rom. i 25. P's note—675. 54 ff—is in close accord with Ambstr. 62. 34 ff. Pelagius uses the general word *idola* while Ambstr. speaks of *lapidibus, lignis, ceteris metallis*, but does not employ the term *idola* at all.

The rest of P's notes on this verse shew no traces of dependence on Ambstr.

Ambstr., however, in his next note 63. 14 uses the word *idololatriam*, so also in 64. 11.

24. Rom. i 26. P's comment—676. 17 f—on the consequences of idolatry, quoted from Sap. 14. 27 is in accord with the comm. of Ambstr. 64. 11 ff on Rom. i 27 and 64. 17 f on verse 28 *propter errores simulacrorum* etc.: cf. also Ambstr. 65. 5 f and 39 ff, and Pelag. 677. 40.

25. Rom. i 29. P and A both point out that Paul begins with a generalization and then goes on to particularize: cf. Ambstr. 64. 29 f ['*Repletos, ait, omni iniquitate*'] *Hic summatim locutus est, et subicit membra iniquitatis*: and in l. 34 infra *Caput iniquitatis malitiam dixit*,

cuius opus etc. P 676. 35 ff says '*Iniquitatem et malitiam*' *principales causas ostendit esse vitiorum.*

***26. Rom. i 29-32.** In commenting on the various sins mentioned in verses 29-31 Pelagius for the most part writes a series of glosses, while Ambrosiaster rather tries to connect the different *vitia* together and shew how one sin begets others. There are, however, in several places signs of the influence of Ambstr. on the comm. of Pelagius. These indications are not always easy to detect, as they sometimes occur in comments on different verses.

There are, firstly, further allusions to idolatry in P 676. 40, 54 f, and 677. 39 f, in the last of which Pelagius calls it *omnium horum (sc. delictorum) caput et causa.* With these cf. the allusions in Ambstr. quoted above in note 24.

Secondly, on v. 30, 'superbos, elatos, inventores malorum'—677. 1-9—P's allusion to the devil and perdition, and his use of the word *auctor* in l. 6 may have been suggested by the comm. of Ambstr. 65. 2 ff '*inventores*', *id est auctores, malorum. . . . Isti autem imitatores facti patris sui diaboli, idololatriae malum invenerunt, per quod omnia vitia in mundo sunt nata, et perditio maxima.* The idea contained in the relative clause has, of course, several parallels in P's notes on these verses.

Also, the idea that there are certain sins which men themselves condemn is expressed by Ambstr. 64. 23 ff *ut facta quae hominibus non ambigerent displicere, Deum crederent non vindicare*, and by Pelagius 677. 29 f *Cum, ex eo quod sibi quoque displicet malum etc.* Compare also the interpolator above at ll. 28 f *in quo et ipse alium hominem peccantem iudicat atque condemnat.*

Lastly, the variant reading of Ambstr. on Rom. i 31; 65. 60 f '*Omnis tamen conscientia novit Dei iustitiam creditam mundo*' recalls P's comment on 'Manifestum est in illis' [Rom. i 19; P 674. 28] *In conscientiis eorum.*

P's comm. on Rom. i shew throughout traces of the influence of Ambrosiaster. In the latter part of the chapter, which deals with the sins of the Gentiles, the influence of the comment of A on any particular verse may not be discernible in the corresponding comment of Pelagius, but may be found in his note on another verse, which usually bears some relation to that commented on by Ambstr.

27. Rom. ii 2. P's note on Rom. ii 2—677. 57-678. 9—shews some traces of the influence of Ambstr.

Ambstr. 67. 5-13.

Non ignoramus Deum iudicaturum de his in veritate, quando nos ipsi de his iudicamus. Si enim nobis displicet, *quanto magis*

Pelagius 677 *ad fin*-678. 6.

Si enim tu, peccator, peccatorem tui similem iudicas, *quanto magis deus* iustus te iudicabit iniustum, ne illi mala placere et dis-

Ambstr. 67. 5-13 (*cont.*).

Deo, qui magis iustus est et opus suum zelatur! In veritate ergo cum dicit iudicaturum Deum de his, terrorem incutit, ut quem hi perfidi incuriosum dicunt, iste malos secundum veritatem dicat iudicaturum, hoc est, verissime reddere secundum mensuram unius cuiusque et non *parcere*.

Pelagius 677. *ad fin*-678. 6 (*cont.*).

plicere bona forsitan videantur, quippe quem sine personarum acceptione nec amicis suis nec angelis peccantibus legimus *pepercisse*.

P's note is to a large extent independent of Ambstr., but the two points of contact in the above comm. are fairly obvious.

Note again in P 678. 3 the chiasmus—*mala placere et displicere bona*. Compare P 734. 25—*Comparat diei scientiam, et ignorantiam nocti* (on Rom. xiii 12).

28. Rom. ii 3, 4. On escaping the judgement of God Ambstr. 67. 19 ff says *Non utique (sc. effugies iudicium Dei); quia si iudicium Dei in mundo evasisti, quia omnis haec potestas et iudicium ab eo est, in futurum non evades*, or in the variant quoted below 52 ff, *effugere tamen iudicium Dei non poteris in futuro*. This is, of course, implied in P's long note—678. 16-43—on Rom. ii 3, 4 and is also expressed in his comm. on Rom. i 32—P 677. 31 ff—*non intellexerunt tales ab eo, et si non in praesenti, tamen in futuro esse puniendos*.

The mistaken idea that God is not interested in human affairs is expressed in P 678. 30 f—*putatur enim res humanas aut minime curare aut culpas donare, quia differt*. This is referred to by Ambstr. in his comm. on Rom. ii 2—67. 10—*quem hi perfidi incuriosum dicunt*—and in several places in his comm. on *v.* 3, e.g. at ll. 28, 33, and 41. Compare also P 683. 35 ff on Rom. iii 4.

The interpolator on Rom. i 24—P 675. 36 ff—uses the word *patitur* of God, who allows the sinner to continue in sin. This note is practically repeated on Rom. ii 4 in the interpolated passage P 678. 12-16. The word *patitur* occurs in the same connexion in the comm. of Ambstr. on Rom. ii 4—67. 48.

29. Rom. ii 5, 6, 7, 8. Pelagius's short comm. on these verses seem to be only slightly tintured with Ambstr. In an alternative comm. on the first part of *v.* 7 P writes—678. 59 f—*Boni operis merces per patientiam expectatur, quia in praesenti vita non redditur*. So Ambstr.—68. 48 f—says *In praesenti enim honor vel gloria frequenter amittitur*.

Pelagius's phrase *vindictam sentire*—678. 49—may possibly have been suggested by Ambstr. 68. 25 *sentiunt poenam* (cf. Ambstr. 69. 19 *Irasci enim dicitur Deus, ut vindicaturus credatur*) but it is more probably taken from Augustine *Propos.* ix, a comment on Rom. ii 5 which will be shewn itself to owe something to Ambstr.

30. Rom. ii 9. P's first alternative explanation of the meaning of 'anima'—679. 34–37—is in accord with Ambstr. 69. 27–31.

The prerogative of the Jews, referred to by Ambstr. 69. 33, is stated by the interpolator at P 679. 31 f—*quoniam praeter naturalem legem scriptam habet (sc. Iudaeus)*.

31. Rom. ii 10. P in writing *Gloria contra iram, honor contra indignationem*—679. 41—is following, though not in detail, the method of Ambstr. 69. 39 f *Quomodo incredulis tria poenalia posuit, sic et fidelibus etc.*

32. Rom. ii 12. P 679. 54 says that the Law here referred to is the *lex litterae in lege naturae*; Ambstr. 70. 15 says that Paul is speaking of the Law of Moses (without adding that it is included in the law of nature). The idea, which runs through the following comm. of P, that all owe obedience to the natural law is found in Origen-Rufinus II 8 pp. 104 f—and in Ambstr. 70. 14 f *cum omnes simul subditi simus legi naturali*.

Both Ambstr. and Pelagius point out that *faith* is essential for salvation to Jew and Gentile alike: cf. the passage in P 680. 3 ff *Quis enim dubitat tam sub lege positos quam sine lege degentes, nisi Christo crediderint, perituros?* and the comm. of Ambstr. 70. 26 ff *Huic (sc. qui non peccat) sola fides deest, per quam fiat perfectus, quia nihil illi proderit apud Deum abstinere a contrariis, nisi fidem in Deum acceperit etc.* Compare also the variant reading, Ambstr. 70. 49 ff.

33. Rom. ii 13. P 680. 7–11 says, what Ambstr. 70. 45 ff implies, that a Jew who is a hearer only and not a doer of the Law is no better than a Gentile. The one thing needful is faith in Jesus Christ. See the preceding note.

***34. Rom. ii 14–16.** On Rom. ii 14 Pelagius 680. 12 ff says *Ne quis forte diceret, 'legem non habent; ad quam formam poterunt iudicari?'* The answer to this objection is given by Ambstr. 71. 44 f *gentes autem, quae legem (sc. Moysi) utique non habent, per conscientiam iudicabuntur, si credere noluerint.* So in P's alternative exposition on v. 15 f–680. 37 ff *Sive: Conscientia convincimur et cogitationes nostrae erunt in die iudicii ante oculos nostros etc.*

P's note on v. 15 *Natura agit legem in corde per conscientiae testimonium*, 'Nature makes the law operative in the heart by the testimony of conscience'—680. 26 f—has several parallels in Ambstr.: cf. in particular Ambstr. 71. 25 ff—*dum natura duce credunt, opus legis ostendunt non per litteram, sed per conscientiam.* P's alternative exposition—680. 27 ff—is not out of accord with the above, and is really an explanation of his own phrase *conscientiae testimonium*.

Pelagius, according to his custom, is no slavish copier of Ambstr. in his comm. on these verses. He is not troubled, for instance, with A's

difficulties as to the precise meaning of *Gentes*; he makes no use of Ambstr. 71. 46-52 on how the Gentiles will be accused; and his first alternative exposition on v. 15-680. 33-37—seems to be his own.

One may note here the striking resemblance in thought between A's comm. on v. 14-71. 20 ff—*Ipsa ergo natura proprio iudicio Creatorem suum agnoscit, non per legem, sed per rationem naturae; opus enim opificem cernit in se*, and P's comm. on Rom. i 21 'quia cum cognoverunt deum' etc.—*sive per naturam sive per facturae rationem*—P 675. 9 f. With these, of course, compare the long comm. on Rom. i 19—P 674. 28-52. See note 18.

***35. Rom. ii 21.** P's notes on vv. 17-20 are short and explanatory, with no traces of indebtedness to Ambstr.

P's long note on 'Qui ergo alium doces, te ipsum non doces', Rom. ii 21-681. 11 ff—and in particular its summing-up—681. 25-29—contain the same idea as the comm. of Ambstr. on Rom. ii 12-70. 32-42, i. e. that it will be worse in the Day of Judgement for the Jew that does not keep the Law than for the Gentile who sins without the Law.

Note that P 681. 30 ff quotes the statement of *Quidam* that the stealing referred to is the stealing of Christ by concealing Him: *Quidam dicunt: abscondendo ab hominibus furaris Christum*. The passage in Ambstr. 73. 53 ff—*Dum enim fidem Christi per malam interpretationem subripis, negas Christum nostrum in lege promissum*—suggests that Ambstr. himself may be one of the *Quidam*. Who another may be is suggested by the following passage from Origen-Rufinus II 11 p. 115—*Sed isti (sc. haeretici) quoniam furantur verba Dei, et intellectum eorum perversa expositione subripiunt, et adulterinum fidei sensum ad sponsam Christi, ecclesiam, in regios thalamos inducunt, recte ad eos dicitur: 'qui praedicās non furandum, furaris etc.'*

36. Rom. ii 22. Both commentators make it clear that the word *moechari* is not restricted, in this verse, to the literal sense. P, however, 681. 34 ff, interprets differently from Ambstr. 74. 2 ff.

37. Rom. ii 23. Compare the definitions of 'praevaricator' given by Ambstr. and Pelagius.

Et praevaricator legis est, dum non sequitur id quod ibi praedictum est. P 682. 8 f on Rom. ii 25.

Praevaricator legis es, quando sensum legis, qui de incarnatione et divinitate Christi est, praeteris; et Deum inhonoras, dum testimonium eius, quod dedit de Filio suo, non recipis. Ambstr. 74. 25 ff on Rom. ii 23.

Origen-Rufinus on Rom. ii 25 says that a man is a 'praevaricator legis', *non agendo quae bona sunt*—II 12 p. 119.

***38. Rom. ii 25.** The first of P's three alternative expositions of this verse shews some dependence on Ambstr. They both raise the same objection and answer it in the same way. The two passages may be quoted :

<p>Quo modo ergo nihil est (<i>sc.</i> circumcisio), si prodest? sed prodest tempore suo. signum prodest, si iustitia, cuius est signaculum, adsit; ceterum sine illa superfluum erit. P 682. 1-4.</p>	<p>Potest dici e contra: Si prodest circumcisio, cur praetermittitur? Sed tunc prodest si legem observes etc. Ambstr. 74. 47 ff.</p>
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v. 27. To keep the Law, as P points out on Rom. ii 27—682. 35 ff—is to believe in Christ: this is the true circumcision. The same idea occurs frequently in Ambstr., e. g. 75. 10 f on Rom. ii 25 *Hic ergo servat legem, qui credit in Christo*; 75. 23 on Rom. ii 26; 75. 30 ff on Rom. ii 27. Both comm. point out that circumcision *per se ipsa non prodest* (P 682. 18; Ambstr. 75. 1 ff *et alibi*).

***39. Rom. ii 28, 29.** P's comm. on these verses again shew traces of the influence of Ambstr. His short comm.—682. 41 f—with its expression *figuram interioris habebant*, is obviously an echo of his own longer note on v. 26—682. 12-17—but his comm. on 'et circumcisio cordis' &c., which takes the form of two passages quoted, apparently by memory, from Deut. has probably been suggested by Ambstr. 75. 51 f. The quotation in A reads 'Circumcidetis duritiam cordis vestri' (Deut. x 16), while P gives the Vulgate reading—682. 47 f—'circumcidite praeputium cordis vestri'.

***40. Rom. iii 5.** Pelagius explains—683. 5 f—that not only the question in v. 1 but the answer in the following verse belong to the Jew and that vv. 1-4 form the 'obiectio', to which Paul replies in v. 5 *et sqq.* This is not the view of the interpolator, who says—P 682. 57 f—that it is Paul himself who makes the answer in v. 2 'Multum per omnem modum', nor of Ambstr. 76. 31 f, where the reply is also attributed to Paul. So Orig.-Ruf. II 14 p. 146 makes Paul himself the speaker in v. 2.

On v. 5, however, Pelagius's note—683. 43 f—is in accord with that of Ambstr. 78. 11-13 and 24-27.

Pelagius writes: Iniquum est si in illis vindicat, qui ideo peccaverunt, ut ille iustior appareret.

Ambstr. has: . . . si quia nos peccatores sumus, Deus iustificatur, iniquus erit si vindicet. And, below: ut peccata hominum et mali actus Dei iustificationi proficiant, et per mala nostra bonus appareat, et iniustitia nostra illum iustum ostendat.

P's comm., it may be said, is also in harmony with that of Origen-Rufinus; so that there is a family resemblance between all three in their several comm. on this passage.

The interpolator who wrote the comm.—P 683. 44-49—seems to have made some use of Ambstr. 78. 5 f and 61 ff [or 15 f]. Compare the passages:

P 683. 44 f.

Item: Non quod nostra iniquitas addat iustitiam Deo . . .

and at line 48 Unde ostenditur Deus verax, quia quae promisit sanctis, peccatoribus non dat.

Ambstr. 78. 5 f.

David . . . sciens quia promissio peccatoribus dari non potest . . .

and l. 15 f, with the variant quoted at l. 61 f Nec enim iniustitia nostra Deum facit iustum, si peccantibus nobis det, quod promisit sanctis.

41. Rom. iii 7, 8. The comm. of both P and Ambstr. on these verses are more or less an amplification of Paul's argument, and are therefore not unlike each other. Paul is meeting the objection of those who would try to pervert his doctrine of the remission of sins into an encouragement to sin, whereas his preaching emphasizes the just judgment of God. Compare P 684. 15 f *nos . . . qui nihil magis quam iustum dei iudicium praedicamus*: and Ambstr. 79. 23 ff *Nec enim peccare debere fides tradit, quippe cum iudicaturum Deum praedicet etc.*

42. Rom. iii 11. The first of P's alternative expositions, *Quia non intellegit, non requirit*—P 684. 38 f—is that of Ambstr. 80. 9 ff *Nec istud occultum est, quia si intelligeret quid prodesset, Deum quaereret.*

43. Rom. iii 12. P's comm. on 'Omnes declinaverunt'—*Qui non requirit firmitamentum, necesse est ut declinet* (to follow P 684. 44)—is similar in sense to that of Ambstr. 80. 16 ff *Nemini dubium, quia omnes non quaerentes Deum, inclinantur, ut auxilium requirant etc.*

***44. Rom. iii 19, 20.** P's comm. on these verses certainly shew traces of dependence on Ambstr., but there is at least one place where they touch Orig.-Ruf. III 6, and it is not easy to estimate precisely how far P was influenced by either. Origen-Rufinus, for instance, takes 'the Law' to mean the natural law; Pelagius in his comm. understands the Law in the sense of the *Lex litterae*; while Ambstr. 82. 41 ff explains that Paul is referring to the natural law *quae per Moysen partim reformata, partim auctoritas [auctoritate?] eius firmata in vitiis cohibendis, cognitum fecit peccatum.* Cf. Ambstr. 172. 50 f on Rom. xiii 8, 9. This idea of the Law of Moses replacing or supplementing the natural law is found in P's comm. 685. 55 ff, and from this and other indications it would seem that P when he wrote his notes on these verses was thoroughly familiar with what the other two commentators had written.

P—685. 32—points out that in v. 19 Paul is not referring to the Gentiles; so Ambstr. 81. 34 ff says the reference is to the Jews, who are condemned by the law *cuius auctoritatem contemnendam putarunt.*

With this last statement compare P. 683. 3—on Rom. iii 1—with the reference there to *lex contempta* and the consequences.

P's definition of the 'deeds of the law'—*v. 20—circumcisionem . . . sabbatum et ceteras caerimonias*—P 685. 41 f—recalls Ambstr. 82. 40 f (*lex*) *Sabbati, neomeniae, circumcisionis etc.* and 82. 51 f; cf. P 687. 27 f and Ambstr. 84. 49 f; 89. 44.

45. Rom. iii 21. P's opening remark—686. 7 f—*Sine lege litterae iustitia manifestata*, appears to sum up Ambstr. 82. 50 ff—*Apertum est quia iustitia Dei sine lege apparuit, sed sine lege sabbati et circumcisionis et neomeniae et vindictae etc.*

Pelagius is never a slavish copier of another, and here, as often, he has his own alternative exposition, viz. 686. 14 f.

The interpolator also appears to be influenced by Ambstr. Discussing the limitations of the Law—on *v. 20*—he says—P 685. 50 f—that the Law *novit punire noxia, non dans veniam poenitenti*; with which compare Ambstr. 83. 10 f *quod legi concessum non erat, ut peccata donaret*. So Pelagius, very briefly, commenting on 'Per legem enim cognitio peccati', *v. 20*, says *Non remissio etc.*

46. Rom. iii 22. P—686. 19 f—completes Paul's sentence 'non enim est distinctio' by adding *Inter iudaeum et gentem*. So also Ambstr. 83. 29, 32, and Orig.-Ruf. III 7 p. 202.

47. Rom. iii 24. On 'justification' both comm. point out briefly that it is not by *works*; cf. P 686. 23 *Sine legis operibus* and Ambstr. 83. 41 *nihil operantes etc.* This, however, appears to be only an accidental coincidence, as P's comm. on *vv. 24, 25, 26* shew no trace of the influence of Ambstr.

48. Rom. iii 27. Pelagius—687. 4 f—like Origen-Rufinus III 9 p. 218 and Ambstr. 84. 41 ff, points out that the question is addressed by Paul to the Jew. The two *Item* interpolations—P 687. 6 ff—say that it is the Jew who asks the question.

49. Rom. iii 28. Pelagius in meeting the objection that faith alone without the deeds of the Law is sufficient for justification says—687. 25 ff—that the Apostle must be understood as referring to circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, &c. So Ambstr. 84. 49 says that a believer is justified *nulla faciens opera legis, id est, sine circumcisione aut neomeniis aut veneratione Sabbati*.

50. Rom. iii 30. Ambstr. 85. 12 ff, like P 687. 49, has no difficulty with 'ex fide' and 'per fidem'.

P has not made much use of the comm. of Ambstr. on the last half dozen verses of this chapter. His comm. on the chapter as a whole appear to be a blend of Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius. See also the comparison of Pelagius with Augustine *Propos. xiii-xviii*, note 5.

51. Rom. iv 1. Compare P 688. 12 f on 'Patrem nostrum', *Patrem secundum carnis circumcisionem*, and Ambstr. 86. 8 f *Carnem dicens circumcisionem significavit*.

52. Rom. iv 2, 3. Pelagius on *v.* 2—688. 17 ff—and Ambstr. on *v.* 3—86. 26 f—both point out that Abraham was not justified merely because he circumcised himself. P says *Si ex eo, quod se circumcidit, iustificatus est*, implying the contrary, and Ambstr. writes *manifestavit (sc. Paulus) non ideo Abraham gloriam apud Deum habere, quia circumciscus est . . .*

***53. Rom. iv 4.** Pelagius in his note 688. 33–35 is obviously influenced by Ambstr. 86. 36 ff. The two passages are:

Debitoris enim est facere quae iubentur, et nisi paruerit, damnatur. Pelag. l. c.	Debitor [Debitoris?] est enim facere legem, quia necessitas imposita est per legem, ut, velit nolit, faciat legem, ne damnetur. Ambstr. 86. 36–38.
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Note also Ambstr. 86. 40 f *Credere autem aut non credere, voluntatis est*; with which compare P 688. 13, on *v.* 1, *Nam fides in mente consistit.*

***54. Rom. iv 5.** P's comm. again shews traces of the influence of Ambstr. Compare the following passages:

Convertentem impium per solam fidem iustificat deus. P 688. 42 f.	Impius per solam fidem iustificatur apud Deum. Ambstr. 87. 5.
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So on 'secundum propositum [gratiae] dei' the two comm. are in accord with one another. Pelagius—688. 48 f—says *Quo proposuit gratis per solam fidem peccata dimittere*; and Ambstr.—87. 6 ff—says *Sic decretum dicit a Deo, ut cessante lege solam fidem gratia Dei posceret ad salutem*, or, as the variant reading has it, *sola fides gratiae Dei proficeret ad salutem.*

***55. Rom. iv 6.** Compare Pelag. 688. 51 f *Magna beatitudo est sine labore legis et paenitentiae domini gratiam promereri*, and Ambstr. 87. 12 ff *Beatos dicit de quibus hoc sanxit Deus, ut sine labore et aliqua observatione, sola fide iustificentur apud Deum.*

Note the frequent use of the phrase *sola fides* in this last comm.

***56. Rom. iv 7, 8.** With the passage above quoted from Pelagius compare Ambstr. 87. 22 ff *manifeste beati sunt, quibus sine labore vel opere aliquo remittuntur iniquitates, et peccata teguntur, nulla ab his requisita poenitentiae opera, nisi tantum ut credant.* See also Ambstr. 87. 54 ff.

P's short comm.—689. 1–3—and his statement, without discussion, of the opinions of 'certain others', might seem at first sight to be taken from Ambstr. Ambstr. himself refers to these others—87. 29 ff—whose opinion he both states and criticizes; so that the *Quidam* go further back than either Pelagius or Ambstr.

P's comm. is *Quod remittitur non tenetur, et quod tegitur non apparet,*

et idcirco minime imputatur. Ambstr. 87. 26 ff says *Remittere, et tegere, et non imputare, una ratio, et unus est sensus; omnia enim uno modo obtinentur et donantur.*

The reference in P 689. 3 ff to the opinion of *Quidam*, with the allusion to baptism, repentance, and martyrdom, is taken from Orig.-Ruf. II 1 p. 70, but the statement of the opinion of *alii*—P 689. 5 ff—may be derived from Ambstr.; cf. A 87. 42; 88. 1, 5: Ambstr. may be one of the 'alii'.

57. Rom. iv 9. P's compact little note—689. 11-13—with its allusion to the *tribus temporibus naturae circumcisionis et Christianitatis* may have been suggested by the comm. of Ambstr. 88. 11 ff, where there are references to circumcision and to Christ. See, however, Orig.-Ruf. IV 2 pp. 246 f.

P's note—689. 16 f—*ergo quod ratio de Habraham invenerit, hoc de ceteris observemus* is not essentially different from A's comm.—88. 19 ff. Paul is grounding his argument securely at the beginning.

58. Rom. iv 10-11. P's comm. on these verses, with their two sets of alternative expositions—689. 31 ff and 43 ff—appear to owe little or nothing to Ambstr. There is just one small point of contact. Ambstr. on v. 12—88. 50 ff—has *Hoc dicit (sc. Paulus), quia credens Abraham, primus factus est pater circumcisionis, sed cordis etc.*; with which compare P 689. 43, where he says, talking of the Gentiles who believe, *Et fiunt et ipsi circumcisi, sed corde.*

***59. Rom. iv 13.** Pelagius here takes the Law to mean the circumcision; Orig.-Ruf. IV 3 p. 251 takes it of the Law of Moses. Ambstr. 89. 3 ff says that at the time of the promise to Abraham there was neither law nor circumcision. Pelagius must have been well acquainted with what Ambstr. wrote, as the following passages shew. In his first alternative exposition—689. 52 ff—he says *Ut in semine eius, quod est Christus, benedicerentur omnes gentes etc.*; while Ambstr. 89. 6 has . . . *semini eius, quod est Christus.* (See also Orig.-Ruf. IV 7 p. 279 on Rom. iv 23-25, *semini eius, qui est Christus.*)

60. Rom. iv 14. Both Pelagius and Ambstr. point out that 'if they which are of the Law be heirs', then God has not fulfilled his promise to Abraham; cf. P 689. 57 f *non implevit deus promissum Habrahae* and Ambstr. 89. 20 f *promissio quae ex fide facta est ad Abraham, in irritum venit.*

61. Rom. iv 15. P's comm. on 'Lex enim iram operatur'—690. 3-19—does not bear much resemblance to that of Ambstr. 89. 25-39. Both, however, point out that the Law does not forgive sin but condemns it; viz. P 690. 14 f *lex enim non donat peccata, sed damnat* and A 89. 36 *dum (sc. lex) non ignoscit, sed vindicat.*

***62. Rom. iv 17-22.** P's comm. on these verses appear to be largely

tinctured with Ambstr. Like Ambstr. he rightly takes 'mortuos' in *v.* 17 to mean *mortuos ad generandum*—P 690. 26 f—with which compare the passage in Ambstr. 90. 44–48 *Cum essent enim obsoleta aetate etc.*

Both, again, comment in similar terms on Abraham's faith :

contra spem naturae erat ut centum annorum homo ex muliere aequae iam fessa, quae etiam in iuventute sterilis fuisset, semen suum sicut stellas caeli crederet esse futurum. P 690. 33–37 on *v.* 18.

nihil naturae considerat fides, quia omnipotentem novit esse . . . P 690. 50 f on *v.* 19.

nec de senectutis impossibilitate, nec de promissionis magnitudine dubitavit. P 690. 53 ff on *v.* 20.

credidit enim quod mundo impossibile videtur, dum in rerum naturam non cadit, ut possint senes generare, et tanta copia multiplicari semen eorum, ut numerari non possit. Ambstr. 91. 20–23 on *v.* 18.

et credidit (*sc.* Abraham), securus de Dei potentia. Ambstr. 91. 2 on *v.* 17.

manifestum est, quia dum spem non haberet generandi Abraham, credidit Deo fidem habens contra spem generare se, sed sciens omnia posse Deum. Ambstr. 91. 12–15 on *v.* 18.

Note also the same point brought out in P 690. 40 f—on *v.* 18—*qui nec unius filii iam per se esse poterat pater*, and in Ambstr. 90 *fin.* *Ideo Abraham, cum pater adhuc non esset* on *v.* 17.

63. *Rom.* iv 23–25. P's comm. on these concluding verses, while not out of harmony with those of Ambstr., do not seem to be directly influenced by them. Both point out that Abraham's faith is an example for us to follow, viz. P 691. 6 f *sed ut eius quasi patris imitemur exemplum*, and Ambstr. 92. 23 f *ut exemplo eius credamus, etc.*

64. *Rom.* v 1, 2. Ambstr. understands Paul's exhortation in the sense of a reconciliation to God—*pacem cum Deo habere*—93. 9 ff. This is not lost sight of by Pelagius who, in an alternative explanation, writes—691. 31—*vel subiecti simus utrique deo* ; but the presence of the word *utrique* (= *Iudaei et Gentiles*), taken in conjunction with his preceding comm. 691. 21–29, shews that he is thinking of a reconciliation between Jews and Gentiles, *quia . . . omnes aequaliter dei gratia sunt salvati*. This difference, again, is present in A's mind ; *vid.* Ambstr. 93. 17 ff *Sed qui de Christo non ita sentit etc.*

The two comm., then, have this in common, that each emphasizes what is more or less implicit in the other.

Note the resemblance between P's comm. on 'in qua stamus', *v.* 2—

P 691. 36—*Qui ante iacebamus*, and Ambstr. 93. 26 f *Ideo stantes, qui prius iacuiamus*.

Pelagius was evidently acquainted with what A wrote on these verses.

65. Rom. v 3, 4, 5. Pelagius, expounding *vv.* 3, 4, says that we should recognize the greatness of the reward—691. 46—and 'count it all joy' (Iac. i 2) when we fall into tribulation. These two ideas may have been suggested by Ambstr. 93. 32 f *Spei autem addita tribulatio augmentum facit praemii*, and by the passage he quotes—93. 35 ff—from Matt. v 11, 12 . . . *Gaudete et exsultate: ecce enim copiosa est merces vestra in caelo*.

Pelagius here indulges in an unusually long comm., which seems to owe little to either Origen-Rufinus or Ambstr.

P's comm. on *v.* 5 are little indebted to Ambstr. P says—692. 29 ff—that the Holy Spirit was given to us . . . *qui iam ostendat gloriam futurorum*; with this compare Ambstr. 94. 12 f *ut . . . securos nos faceret de promissione*.

Note the reminiscence of Cicero in Ambstr. 94. 17 *Cum tacent, clamant* (Cic. *Cat.* i. 8).

66. Rom. v 6, 7. P may have read A's comm. on these verses, but he makes as little use of it as of the corresponding comm. of Origen-Rufinus.

Ambstr. has a discussion of the meanings of *iustus* and *bonus*—A 95. 8–34. P, as usual, says simply—692. 51—*bonus ipse est, qui et iustus*. This is quite in accord with Ambstr.—*vid.* l. 30 *iusti semper appellantur et boni*.

The third of P's alternative expositions of 'secundum tempus'—*v.* 6—*ad tempus tridui, ut praedicebatur, est mortuus*—P 692. 37 f—may have been suggested by Ambstr. 94. 31 f *ad tempus enim mortuus est, quia tertia die resurrexit*.

Both comm. use the word *praeponere*—Ambstr. 95. 21 and 25, P 692. 43 and 45, also *commendare*—Ambstr. 94. 48, P 692. 41 (but this might have been suggested by the occurrence of the word in *v.* 8).

67. Rom. v 8, 9. It will be shewn that Pelagius has made considerable use of the comm. of Origen-Rufinus on these verses. There are also traces of the possible influence of Ambstr. P's note on *v.* 9 *Si peccatores tantum dilexit, quanto magis iam custodiet iustos!*—693. 10 f—is in accord with the comm. of Ambstr., who says—95. 44—*Quid faciet pro iustificatis, nisi servet eos ab ira . . . ?*

On *v.* 6—'pro impiis mortuus est'—Pelagius says Paul wishes to point out that Christ died to shew how much we ought to love him, being ourselves *inmerito dilecti*—P. 692. 41. For this idea cf. Ambstr. 95. 37 f *mittit qui salvet eos, cum utique non mercantur*.

Thirdly, the expression *nobis impiis* in P's note referred to above—692. 44—occurs also in Ambstr. 96. 10 f in his note on *v.* 10.

*68. Rom. v 12, 13, 14. On *vv.* 10–11 the comm. of Pelagius—693. 17–41—shew no trace of indebtedness to Ambstr. 96. 6–30, but appear, on the contrary, to have been largely influenced by Origen-Rufinus.

On *v.* 12 the interpolator—P 693. 35 f—agrees with Ambstr. 96. 38 and 97. 18 f that sin entered into the world by *Eve*. Pelagius does not shift the responsibility from Adam.

On *v.* 13 Pelagius—694. 19 ff—takes the Law to mean the Law of Moses. This agrees with Ambstr. 98. 8 and 35. The interpolator understands the Law referred to at the beginning of the verse to mean the Law of Moses, but says that the 'Law' mentioned at the end of the verse means the natural law—P 694. 23–27.

On *v.* 14—'sed regnavit mors'—both comm. personify death, and point out the mistake he made in thinking he reigned over all. P—694. 34 f—says *putabat (sc. mors) se omnibus dominari*, while Ambstr.—98. 37 f—writes *Regnabat ergo mors securitate dominationis suae . . . Omnes enim suos esse videbat*. Ambstr. afterwards—98. 45 *et alibi*—identifies death with Satan.

Ambstr. reads in *v.* 14—with Origen-Rufinus—in *eos qui peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae*, objecting to the other reading *qui non peccaverunt* as a corruption; see the long note, Ambstr. 99. 51 to 101. 20. P, who reads the negative,¹ explains simply in an alternative comm.—694. 35 ff—*non solum in eos, qui praeceptum, sicut Adam, transgressi sunt . . . sed etiam in eos, qui sine praecepto legem contempserunt naturae*.

The point at issue does not seem to be a very important one, and though it is exceedingly difficult to estimate how far Pelagius was influenced by Ambstr., there seems little doubt, as in other cases, that he was acquainted with what Ambstr. wrote.

*69. Rom. v 14, 15. 'Qui est forma futuri.' On these words P gives an alternative exposition attributed to *Quidam*—P 695. 2 f—*Sive: ut quidam dicunt: 'forma' a contrario: hoc est, sicut ille peccati caput, ita et iste iustitiae*. One indication of a possible source of this opinion is found, as will be shewn, in Orig.-Ruf. V 1 p. 345, and another is suggested by the passages in Ambstr. 101. 15 ff on *v.* 14, and 101. 23–28 on *v.* 15. In the latter passage he says *in eo tantum forma Adam Christi est, quia quod unus peccavit, unus emendavit*. It will also be shewn at a later stage that a similar interpretation is given by Augustine *Propos.* xxix.

¹ Professor Souter tells me that the Balliol MS is without the negative, and the comment of Pelagius appears to suit either reading. See also note 70.

Note two points of contact between the interpolator and Ambstr. The first is in the application of the word *imitari*. The interpolator on v. 14 says in his note—P 695. 4–8—*sic et Christus voluntatem Patris complens, exemplum est imitari eum cupientibus*. So Ambstr. 101. 31 ff, on v. 15, says *si . . . multi mortui sunt, imitantes pravocationem eius etc.*

The second point of contact is that both the interpolator—P 695. 16—and Ambstr. 101. 35 ff point out that the death referred to is spiritual death.

Two ideas, also, which appear in P's note on v. 11—P 693. 30 ff—*non solum nobis vita donabitur sempiterna, sed etiam quaedam similitudo per Christum promittitur divinae gloriae*—are found in Ambstr. 101. 49 f—on v. 15—*cum triumpho sublati eis in caelum*, and in Ambstr. 102. 28—on v. 17—*gratia . . . quae confert vitam per Christum*.

*70. **Rom. v 15.** Recurring to the fact mentioned in 68 above that in v. 14 Pelagius reads 'etiam in eos, qui non peccaverunt' etc., while Ambstr. has no *non*, and to the suggestion made there that the point at issue is not of paramount importance, it may now be added that in spite of their different readings the two comm. contrive to take pretty much the same sense out of them. Pelagius—694. 35 ff—says that death reigned *not only* over those who, like Adam, received a specific commandment, e. g. the sons of Noah and the sons of Abraham, but also over those who, without the commandment, *legem contempnere naturae*. Ambstr. 99. 2 f says that they who sinned like Adam are they who *contempto Deo, peccaverunt*. These, he goes on to explain, are they who *neglecto Creatore servierunt creaturae*, for Adam himself was guilty of a kind of idolatry. Death did *not* reign over those who understood *sive ex traduce sive iudicio naturali* and revered God, and who did not sin *against the natural law*. So Pelagius in the famous comm. on v. 15 (restored by Professor Souter from P 695. 44 ff) recognizes that Adam by his transgression did not bring death upon all . . . *quia Adam tantum se et suos posteros interfecit*.

71. **Rom. v 16.** P's short comm. on this verse—695. 19–28—though probably not derived from Ambstr., are similar in sense. Both writers speak of the remission of sins, P 695. 25 f *Christus autem gratia sua multorum peccata dissolvit . . . et gratis peccata remisit*, and Ambstr. 102. 6 f *dando illis remissionem peccatorum*.

72. **Rom. v 18.** The interpolator's remark—P 696. 10—*Omnes autem dicens, non generaliter dicit* and his whole note, in fact, agree with the comm. of Ambstr. 102. 36–39. How can God, he asks, condemn all men for the sin of one man, Adam? That is what Ambstr. has been insisting on all along. God cannot condemn all, he continues, for all men are not justified even by the righteousness of Christ—P 696. 7–10. This is the argument attributed by Pelagius to those who *contra traducem peccati sunt*—P 696. 40 ff.

73. **Rom. v 20, 21.** Ambstr. 103. 5 ff talks of the natural law and of its limitations in terms similar to those used by the writer of the interpolated passage—P 696. 22–26. The interpolator says *Ipsi enim (sc. Hebraei et scribae) ad maiorem*

mercedem accipientes legem etc.; with which compare Ambstr. *addita lex est, cuius auctoritate et magisterio ingenium naturale proficeret ad fructum iustitiae faciendum.*

The comm. of Pelagius starts, like that of Ambstr. 102. 50, by meeting a possible objection to Paul's statement. The objection is not stated in similar terms by the two Commentators, but both observe that the function of the Law is to point out sin, cf. P 696. 27 f *non venit dimittere, sed demonstrare delicta* and Ambstr. 103. 27 ff *ostendere enim coepit lex abundantiam peccatorum.* It was not the fault of the Law that sin abounded.

Ambstr., like Pelagius and Origen-Rufinus, has something to say about grace abounding through the remission of sins; cf. Ambstr. 104. 13 ff *Sic autem regnat gratia per iustitiam, si accepta remissione peccatorum iustitiam sequimur etc.* So Pelag. 697. 10 and Orig.-Ruf. V 6 p. 372.

74. Rom. vi 1-4. The objection stated by Paul in Rom. vi 1 is treated by both Pelagius and Ambstr. in much the same way. Their comm. do not add anything to the text, but merely expound.

Pelagius on v. 3 explains that the word 'Baptism' is used in Scripture in three senses—P 697. 28 ff—*aquae, Spiritus sancti, qui et ignis est appellatus, et sanguinis in martyrio.* From his next note, *ut illi commorermur in baptismo*—697. 31 f—with which cf. Ambstr. 105. 4 f—*cum baptizamur, commorimur Christo*—it would appear that P takes the word in the third sense. He certainly regards baptism as a mystical baptism, e. g. in 697. 36 f on v. 4 *ostendit (sc. Paulus) nos propterea ita baptizari, ut per mysterium consepeliatur Christo.* So Ambstr., who takes baptism to mean baptism by water, regards it also as a symbol of spiritual purification, e. g. Ambstr. 105. 32 ff on v. 4 *Nam ideo per aquam celebratur, ut sicut aqua sordes corporis abluit, ita et nos per baptismum ab omni peccato spiritualiter purgatos nos et innovatos credamus, ut quod incorporale est, invisibiliter abluatur.* In 105. 45 on v. 2 he talks about baptism in the same way—*lavacro spiritali regenerante . . .*

75. Rom. vi 5. P explains the clause 'If we have been planted together in the likeness of his death' as *Si consepulti sumus*—697. 47 f. This he has already explained—697. 38 f on v. 3—to mean *criminibus morientes et renuntiantes pristinae vitae*; with which cf. Ambstr. 105. 40 ff on v. 5 *si in baptismo omnia vitia deponentes, in novam vitam translati . . .*

Pelagius further says that we shall share in Christ's resurrection in the sense that we shall be new and changed *in glory*—P 697. 50 f. So Ambstr. 105. 47 f says *hoc est, immortalem et gloriosum resurgere.*

These resemblances may be only accidental, or rather incidental, as both comm. are simply expounding or amplifying Paul.

76. Rom. vi 6. It will be shewn later that P's note—698. 4-10—on the meaning of 'corpus peccati' is obviously based on Orig.-Ruf.

V 9 pp. 394 ff. Note, in this connexion that Ambstr. 106. 8 ff takes the expression in the simpler sense, without discussing the other possible sense at all (i. e. that it means *corpus nostrum*). He says . . . *ut corpus destruaturs peccati, quod est cuncta crimina. Omnia enim peccata simul corpus appellat.*

[Another interesting point is that A's definition—106. 4 f—*Hominem ergo veterem actus praeteritos dicit* is paralleled by Orig.-Ruf. V 9 p. 390 *Vetus autem homo noster intellegendus est vita prior*. Perhaps this definition is so obvious that the two comm. could hardly have escaped being like one another.]

77. Rom. vi 7-13. Ambstr. does not seem to read v. 7 at all, and his comm. on vv. 8-13 seem to have little or no influence upon Pelagius. Both comm. talk about the second death¹—Pelag. in his comm. on v. 9, 698. 23 and Ambstr. on v. 12, 106. 54 and on v. 13, 107. 28 f.

There is also some similarity in their comm. on v. 12, viz. P 698. 42 ff *Quo modo autem regnet in corpore peccatum exposuit (sc. Paulus), per oboedientiam scilicet et consensum* and Ambstr. 106. 46 ff *non oboediendum dicit peccato, ne regnet in nostro mortali corpore*.

As there is entirely lacking from Ambstr. any trace of the characteristic Pelagian idea of our *libertas arbitrii*, in virtue of which we can yield ourselves to either good or evil, and as this and other points of contact will be shewn to exist between the comm. of Pelag. and Orig.-Ruf., it seems reasonable to conclude that Pelag. in his comm. on these verses drew upon Orig.-Ruf., and that the slight resemblances between his comm. and those of Ambstr. are again accidental.

78. Rom. vi 14. P's note on this verse appears to be quite independent of that of A. It is interesting to note that the sentence—*qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati*—quoted by Ambstr. 108. 5 f—from Ioan. viii 34 (cf. also 98. 41 on Rom. v 14) has already occurred in Pelag. 698. 9 f in his comm. on v. 6.

*79. Rom. vi 19. The first of P's two alternative expositions of this verse—P 699, 43-46—is to exactly the same effect as that of Ambstr. 109. 25-36 *et sqq.*

The two comm. are:—

Cum enim multo magis debetis servire iustitiae quam peccato ante servistis, ego tamen concedo infirmitati vestrae ut TANTUM iustitiae SERVIATIS.

Dum infirmitatem carnis memorat, minus se significat (sc. Paulus) exigere ab homine, quam dignum est circa Dei culturam

. . . EA MENSURA nos Deo

¹ This reference to the second death appears to be a specialty of Ambrosiaster—*vid. A. Souter's edition of the Quaestiones, s. v. 'mors'*.

Pelagius, loc. cit.

SERVIRE praecepit, qua prius famulabamur diabolo: *cum* utique propensius deberet *serviri* Deo quam diabolo, etc.

The corresponding comm. of Orig.-Ruf. VI 4, *ad init.* brings out the same point, but the resemblance between the comm. of P and Ambstr. is more striking, even in point of actual expression. This may be another instance of family resemblance between all three commentaries.

80. Rom. vi 21. P's comm. touches that of Ambstr. at one point where it also touches that of Orig.-Ruf. VI 5 pp. 18 f, but here again, perhaps, there is a closer resemblance between Pelag. and Ambstr. P 700. 6-7 says *Omnis enim, qui cognoscit bonitatem, in pristinis actibus erubescit.* The comm. of Ambstr. 110. 1 is (*Quales ergo sunt fructus peccati, in quibus conversati*) *addiscentes bonam vitam, confundimur, eo quod dudum turpiter vixerimus.*

***81. Rom. vii 1-4.** P's comm. on the first six verses of this chapter will be shewn to have several points of contact with those of Origen-Rufinus. On the whole they shew little trace of indebtedness to Ambstr.

On *v. 1* both P and A point out that Paul's purpose is to give encouragement. P—700. 33 f—says *ut illos hortetur ad gratiam sine eius timore transire*, while Ambstr. 110. 41 f writes *ut animos eorum firmet in doctrina divina.*

Ambstr., like Pelagius and Origen-Rufinus, begins by taking the Law to be the dying party, explaining—111. 29 ff—*mortua enim lex dicitur, quando quem tenebat reum, ignotum est ei, auctoritate legis cessante.* This passage is more likely to have influenced the comm. of Pelag. 700. 40 f *ut ostendat legem sine effectu vindictae quasi mortuam . . .* than the passage in Orig.-Ruf. VI 7 p. 35. Later on, Ambstr., like the other comm., speaks of *our* dying to the law, e.g. 111. 44 ff; 112. 12, 16 f.

It is interesting to note that both in P's comm.—701. 1 f—on 'per corpus Christi' *v. 4, Commoriendo Christo, qui* 'damnavit peccatum in carne' and in Ambstr. 111. 49 f *Salvator mortem vicit et* 'peccatum damnavit', appears the same reminiscence of Rom. viii 3, where it is *God* who condemned sin in the flesh.

There is much in Pelagius's notes on *vv. 1-4* which is obviously not derived from Ambstr., and much in Ambstr. which finds no echo in Pelagius.

***82. Rom. vii 5.** P's comm. on this verse appears to epitomize that of Ambstr.

His definition of 'cum essemus in carne' as *cum essemus in carnali conversatione*—P 701. 5 f—agrees with that of Ambstr. 112. 23 ff *hic*

dicitur esse in carne, qui aliquid sequitur, quod lege prohibetur and later—33 f—*carnales sensus sequentes, vitiis et peccatis subiacebamur*. The instance taken by Pelag.—701. 6—is not derived from A's lengthy list, but P implies, what is emphatically stated by A 112. 45 ff, that the motions of sins are in *our members*, not in our whole body.

As to these 'passiones' Pelagius adds—701. 7 f—*quae tamen per legem ostendebantur esse peccata*; with which compare Ambstr. 113. 2 ff *Vitia tamen peccatorum quae dominari in carne agentibus dicit, per legem ostendi, non per legem fieri, demonstrat*.

*83. Rom. vii 6. P's very brief comments on v. 6 are again exactly in the spirit of A's much longer expositions. His expression *morientes peccato*—701. 18—on 'soluti a lege' v. 6 is in accord with Ambstr. 113. 8 f *soluti sumus a lege, dum remissionem peccatorum accepimus*.

On the second part of the verse ('newness of spirit' . . . 'oldness of the letter') he writes—701. 20 f—*spiritualis gratiae praeceptis, non litterae legis*. So Ambstr. in various places, e. g. 113. 17, 33, 40. We are to serve the law of faith, *quae nobis praesidium contulit salutare, quod vetus lex non potuit*—Ambstr. 113. 28 ff. For this latter idea compare the interpolated passage on v. 5, P 701. 13 f, *mortui sumus legi, quae doctrinam gratiae non continet*.

*84. Rom. vii 7-13. The published comm. of Pelagius on these verses are largely interpolated, and several points of contact will be shewn to exist between Pelagius and the interpolator on the one hand, and Rufinus's very free translation of Origen VI 8 on the other. A comparison of Pelag. and Pelag. interpolated with Ambstr. reveals, on the whole, little trace of indebtedness to the latter on the part of Pelagius, and practically none at all on the part of the interpolator. The following points may be noted:

v. 7. The Law here referred to is the Law of Moses, according to Ambstr. 114. 6 *et alibi*. So with Pelagius, who also calls it the law of the letter, 702. 18 on v. 8; 701. 21 on v. 6.

Also on v. 7 compare Ambstr. 113. 48 f *Quoniam legem mortis hanc dicit, et erutos nos ab ea gratulatur* . . . , and P 701. 38 f *Quia ab ea se per mortem dixerat esse solutum*.

The interpolator points out in half a dozen places that Paul here *personam pueri assumit*. This agrees with Origen-Rufinus but not with Pelagius or Ambstr. The latter, on v. 7, says, 114. 16 ff, *Sub sua persona quasi generalem agit causam. LEX itaque concupiscentiam PROHIBET etc.* Compare with this Pelag. 701. 52 ff *Hinc in persona eius hominis loquitur, qui legem accepit, id est, qui primum dei mandata cognoscit, cum consuetudinem habeat delinquendi*. On 'concupiscentia' v. 8 Pelagius says 702. 14 f *omnem, quae fuerat LEGE PROHIBITA*. The expression used by Pelag. 701. 54, *consue-*

tudo delinquendi, is paralleled by Ambstr. 115. 20 f, on v. 9 *consuetudo peccandi*.

On v. 8 Pelagius writes, 702. 6 f, *Hic peccatum diabolus videtur appellare, sicut et in Apocalypsi nominatur scilicet ut auctor peccati*. Origen-Rufinus is also cautious: *Potest hic 'peccatum' vel ipsum auctorem dixisse peccati . . . vel etiam personam finxisse peccati*. Perhaps the real source of P's comm. is to be found in Ambstr., who is very fond of the idea that sin is the Devil: *vid.* Ambstr. 112. 2 f (on Rom. vii 4) *peccatum quod est diabolus*; 98. 45 *et sqq.* on Rom. v 14; 115. 48 f (on Rom. vii 11) *Peccatum hoc loco diabolus intellige, qui auctor peccati est*; 114. 30 *diaboli, quem in peccato significat*; 116. 18 f *Inimicus . . . quem in peccato significat*. Compare also Ambstr. 118. 9 f.

On v. 10 Pelagius says *Quod (sc. mandatum) custoditum proficiebat ad vitam, neglectum duxit ad mortem*—702. 50 f. He is here using *proficere*, a favourite word with Ambstr., whose comm. is—115. 34 f—*quia (lex) obedientibus proficit ad vitam*.

The comm. on vv. 11–13, genuine and interpolated, bear no trace of the influence of Ambstr.

85. Rom. vii 14, 15, 16. The point of P's comm. on 'venundatus sub peccato'—P 703. 51 ff—is that it implies a voluntary surrender to sin. Ambstr.—117. 8 ff—defines the phrase as *ex Adam qui prior peccavit originem trahere et proprio delicto subiectum fieri peccato*. Pelagius, of course, would reject the first half of this definition. The two comm. therefore have not much in common, and the only resemblances that occur are incidental rather than essential.

Ambstr.—117. 1 f—says of the Law *quae quia peccare prohibet, spiritalis est, quippe cum visibilia et carnalia coli prohibeat*. With this cf. P 703. 58 f *quae mala et non vult, et prohibet*, and 704. 4 f (interp.) *Si ea, quae lex praecipit contraria voluntati carnis . . .*

Ambstr. says that man was enslaved to sin through the action of the Devil, who is again sin personified—A 117. 26 ff. This personification is to be found, though less explicitly stated, in Pelag. 703. 52 *ut, si consilium eius accepero, ipsius (sc. peccati) servus efficiar*.

The Devil, says Ambstr. 117. 42 ff, received such power over man *ut interiorem hominem pulsaret, copulans se menti eius, ita ut non possit agnoscere quid suum sit in cogitatione, quid illius, nisi respiciat legem*. This may have suggested P's alternative (and less characteristic) exposition—703. 56 f—*ego non intellego malum esse quod quodam modo invitius admitto*.

There is also a reference to the *legis severitas* in P 704. 1 and Ambstr. 117. 22.

***86. Rom. vii 18.** Pelagius's comm.—704. 21 f—would appear to have been taken from Ambstr. 118. 15 f. P writes *Non dixit (sc.*

Paulus): *non est caro mea bona*; with which compare A—*Non dicit, sicut quibusdam videtur, carnem malam.*

Ambstr. in his following comm.—118. 30-41—touches briefly on the conflict between the good will and the habit of sin. Pelagius and the interpolator lay great emphasis on this idea. A's comm. may be quoted:

Tam bona asserit quae iubet lex, ut NATURALITER sibi placere dicat et velit facere. 'Perficere autem bonum non invenio.' Et placet ergo quod a lege iubetur, et VOLUNTAS EST FACIENDI: sed ut impleatur, potestas et virtus deest, quia sic pressus est potestate peccati, ut non possit ire quo vult, neque valeat contradicere, quia potestatis eius alter est dominus (so Pelag. 704. 25 ff *Est voluntas, sed non est effectus, quia carnalis consuetudo voluntati resistit*) *Homo enim iam CONSUECUDINE PECCANDI gravatur, et facilius succumbit peccato quam legi, quam scit bona docere; ac si velit bona facere, premit illum CONSUECUDO, adiutore inimico.* Note, in the concluding sentence, the reference to the *consuetudo peccandi*, which is so conspicuous a feature in the comm. of Pelagius. Also the two last words in A's note seem to imply that the agency of the Evil One is here regarded by Ambstr. as subsidiary to the action of the 'Habit of Sin.' Compare Ambstr. 162. 42 f *consuetudine delinquendi* on Rom. xi 33 and cf. Pelag. 701. 54 on Rom. vii 7.

87. Rom. vii 20. P's comm. on this verse is *Non ego, quia velut invitus, sed consuetudo peccati*, and he adds a characteristic remark, *quam tamen necessitatem ipse mihi paravi*—704. 39 f. The comm. of Ambstr. 118. 49 to 119. 11 practically admits all this, even the statement in the last clause, although there is again a reference to Adam's original sin, 119. 8 f. Ambstr. says that man, *pressus et subiugatus peccato, non suam sed illius perficit voluntatem.* And, lest it be objected that the sinner is therefore *immunis a crimine*, he adds *Non utique; ipsius enim vitio et desidia haec coepta sunt.*

****88. Rom. vii 22.** The comm. of Ambstr. on v. 22—119. 18-29—in which he asserts that the sinful principle which is inherited from Adam dwells only in the flesh and not in the spirit, bears a remarkable likeness to part of the incriminating comm. of Pelagius on Rom. v 15 at P 695. 13 *et sqq.* The passages may be compared:

Ambrosiaster.

Pelagius.

Animus his oblectari dicit, quae
a lege traduntur: hic est interior
homo, quia non in animo habitat
peccatum, sed in carne, quae est
ex origine carnis peccati, et per
traducem fit omnis caro peccati.

Illud quoque accidit quia, si
anima non est ex traduce sed sola

Ambrosiaster (*cont.*).

Si enim anima de traduce esset et ipsa, et in ipsa habitaret peccatum, quia anima Adae magis peccavit quam corpus. . . . In carne ergo habitat peccatum quasi ad ianuas animae, ut non illam permittat ire quo vult. In anima autem si habitaret, nunquam se cognosceret homo: nunc autem cognoscit se et condelectatur legi Dei.

Pelagius (*cont.*).

caro, ipsa tantum habet traducem peccati, et ipsa sola poenam meretur.

Also cf. Pelag. 704. 17 ff Habitat (*sc.* in me peccatum) quasi hospes et quasi aliud in alio, non quasi unum, ut accidens scilicet, non naturale.

***89. Rom. vii 23.** Pelagius's alternative comm. on 'another law in my members'—*vel persuasionem inimici*—705. 4—may easily have been suggested by the emphasis which Ambstr. has been laying on the agency of the Evil One, e. g. on Rom. vii 14.

The short comm. of P on v. 23 can nearly all be paralleled from Ambstr. 119. 33 ff: e. g. on 'legi mentis meae' he writes *conscientiae scilicet naturali, vel legi DIVINAE, quae in mente consistit*—705. 5 ff: compare Ambstr. (who gives an elaborate classification of the different laws)—119. 38 f—*Alia est lex mentis, quae est lex Moysi* (and so presumably *divina*), *vel naturalis, quae est in animo*.

P's very brief comm. on the second half of the verse—*in consuetudine delictorum*—705. 9—may be compared with A's succeeding remarks on the law of the mind: *Haec pressa est violentia peccati, negligentia quidem sua, quia dum diligit vitia, subiicit se peccato, ut IPSA CONSUECUDINE teneretur captiva*—Ambstr. 119. 39 ff.

A's definition of the 'exterior homo'—119. 35—as that *qui est caro vel corpus* recalls the interpolator at P 704. 55 f on v. 22 *Exterior vero (sc. homo) est corpus nostrum*.

The whole tenour of this note—P 704. 52 f—suggests that it may be based on Ambstr.'s comm. on v. 25. He says for instance—Ambstr. 121. 21 f—*Caro autem quia iudicium non habet, neque capax est discernendi (est enim brutā naturā)* . . . with which compare P 704. 54 f *lex enim eius est rationabiliter vivere, et non duci irrationabilium animalium passionibus*.

***90. Rom. vii 24, 25.** Pelagius's concluding comm. again shew traces of the influence of Ambstr. On v. 24 he writes—705. 11 f—*Ego qui sic detineor, quis me liberabit de consuetudine mortifera corporali?* With this cf. Ambstr. 121. 16 f *Iam enim liber animus, et in consuetudinem bonam revocatus*.

P's last note—705. 28 f—is *HOMOCARNALIS DUPLEX EST quodam modo, et in semet ipso divisus*. Compare Ambstr. 121. 5 *DUPLEX EST HOMO,*

carne conversus (Rom. edit. *concretus*) *et animo*. Cf. P 706. 41 f on Rom. viii 5. Compare also P 705. 21 *Gratia liberat, quem lex non potuit liberare*, with Ambstr. 120. 21 ff and the conclusion, l. 31 f, *Gratia ergo Dei per Christum liberatus est homo de corpore mortis huius*.

*91. Rom. viii 2. P's comm. on v. 1 owes nothing to Ambstr., but his notes on v. 2 shew some traces of his influence.

His comm.—P 705. 37—*notandum quia gratiam legem appellat*, is substantially the same as that of Ambstr. 122. 12 f *lex ergo spiritus vitae ipsa est lex fidei*.

His alternative comm. on 'liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis' *Quae peccatoribus data est et MORTIFICAT PECCATORES. Sive: Ab ea lege, quam supra DIXERAT IN MEMBRIS ESSE* P 705. 38 ff, seems to be a blend of the two definitions given by Ambstr.—122. 21 ff—of 'lex peccati' and 'lex mortis' respectively. The passage in Ambstr. is as follows: *Lex peccati est, quam IN MEMBRIS DICIT HABITARE, quae suadere nititur adversa: lex vero mortis Moysi lex est, quia MORTIFICAT PECCATORES*.

*92. Rom. viii 3. On the 'impossibility of the Law' Ambstr. says—123. 18 ff—*Nobis scilicet impossibile erat mandatum legis implere*.

Compare with this the interpolator—P 705. 41 f—*lex per infirmitatem carnis non poterat impleri*.

So the genuine comm. of Pelag.—705. 40 f—reads (*impossibile erat legis*) *ut homines carnales faceret custodire iustitiam, mortificandae carnis nec exemplo dato nec gratia*.

And further Pelag. says—706. 5 f—that the law *in illis infirmabatur, non in se*. Compare also P 706. 35 f on v. 4.

On 'in similitudinem carnis peccati' Ambstr.—123. 26 ff—says *Haec est similitudo carnis, quia quamvis eadem caro sit quae et nostra, non tamen ita facta in utero est et nata sicut et caro nostra. Est enim sanctificata in utero et nata sine peccato...* Compare with the above what the interpolator says—P 706. 10 f—*ostendit (sc. Paulus) eum eandem quidem carnem, sed absque peccato portasse*. And Pelagius concludes his own note thus—706. 13 f—*Similem ergo ceteris hominibus carnem accepit, quantum ad naturam*.

Pelagius—unlike Ambstr.—says nothing about the Virgin birth.

Of the clause 'et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne' Pelagius gives three alternative explanations, unless indeed his comm.—P 706. 17—*Quasi si dicas: 'de gente expugnavit gentem'* be regarded as a fourth. The explanation attributed to *Quidam*—P 706. 23–27—*...quod de peccato Iudaeorum, quo dominum occiderunt, peccatum diaboli, quo hominem deceperat, per hominem condemnari etc.* may have been suggested by what Ambstr. says—123. 37 ff—*Christus enim cum a peccato crucifigitur, qui est Satanas, peccavit peccatum in carne corporis Salvatoris: quo facto*

damnavit Deus peccatum in carne . . . (Sin being, as often in Ambstr., the Devil). Both comm., however, are rather obscure.

It is noteworthy that in his comm. on *v.* 4 Ambstr. returns to this subject. Sin, he says—124. 20 ff—*damnatum est a Salvatore et triplici genere damnatum. Primo enim in loco DAMNAVIT PECCATUM, DUM NON PECCAVIT, DISSENTIENS A PECCATO.* This may have suggested the first part of P's third alternative explanation—P 706. 28 ff—*Sive: De illius carnis substantia, quae ante serviebat peccato, VICIT (NUNQUAM PECCANDO) PECCATUM.* Note also that P implies that it was Christ who condemned Sin. The remainder of his comm. is characteristically Pelagian.

Deinde (continues Ambstr.) *in cruce peccatum, quia peccavit, damnatum dicitur etc.* Compare with this the explanation attributed by P to *Quidam* and the remarks thereon made above.

Tertio (says Ambstr. 124. 27 ff) *damnavit peccatum, dum irrita fecit delicta, remissione peccatorum concessa. Cum enim peccator causa admissi peccati damnandus esset, ignoscens autem ei damnavit in eo peccatum.* This can hardly have suggested P's first explanation—706. 17 ff—where Christ is regarded as a *hostia* or scapegoat and thereby *peccati nomen accepit.* This explanation is that given by Orig.-Ruf. VI 12 p. 69 *Quod hostia pro peccato factus sit Christus etc.*

Pelagius's comm., therefore, appear to be a blend of Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and, finally, Pelagius.

93. Rom. viii 4. Both Ambstr. and Pelagius point out that we must follow the example of Christ. P—706. 36 f—says *ut . . . in nobis saltem impleatur, qui exemplo Christi mortificavimus carnem*; while Ambstr. concludes his comm.—124. 31 f—*Itaque si et nos Salvatoris exemplo non peccemus, damnamus peccatum.*

94. Rom. viii 5. P's note on the conflict between the flesh and the spirit—706. 41 ff—is in harmony with that of Ambstr. 124. 34 ff. It may have been to some extent influenced by Ambstr., but it will also be shewn to have some affinity with the comm. of Orig.-Ruf. VI 12.

95. Rom. viii 6. Ambstr. 124. 46 says *Prudentia carnis peccatum est, quod generat mortem.* His following comm.—125. 13 ff—ends thus: *sequens enim spiritalia . . . AETERNAM habebit vitam cum pace, id est, sine inquietudine, ubi perturbatio et POENA non est.*

Compare with the first extract Pelag. 706. 54 f *Talis ergo prudentia mortem parit transgrediendo praeceptum*; and with the second cf. P 706. 51 f *Eius autem mortem dicens aeternam poenam significat.* This passage is interpolated, but is quite Pelagian in spirit. For the same idea cf. P. 707. 50, 53 (interp.).

***96. Rom. viii 7.** Ambstr. at the beginning of his comm. on this verse says—125. 19 ff—*non carnem dixit inimicam, sed sapientiam carnis; id est, non substantiam, sed aut malos actus, aut cogitationem, sive asseverationem, quae nascitur de errore.* [It is interesting to note that

Ambstr. goes on to condemn the study of astronomy and what he calls *visibilibus oblectatio*, as leading men to deny the Virgin birth and the resurrection of the body, that anything, in fact, *feri ut mundi careat ratione*.¹ Pelagius does not concern himself with this discussion at all.]

The above passage from Ambstr. expresses an idea which Pelagius, of course, is often emphasizing. Compare the following passages :

Non ipsa caro, ut Manichei dicunt, sed sensus carnalis inimicus est deo—P 707. 1 ff.

Hinc probatur quia superius (i.e. in v. 7) non carnem sed opera accusaverat carnis—P 707. 8 f on verse 8.

Notandum sane opera carnis, non substantiam, condemnari—P 708. 12 f on v. 13. Compare also P 707. 54 (interp.).

This is implied in the comm. of Orig.-Ruf. VI 12, but as it is so explicitly stated in Ambstr. it is probable that he and not Origen-Rufinus is the source of Pelagius's comment.

97. Rom. viii 8, 9. There is nothing specially noteworthy in the comm. of either Ambstr. or Pelag. on these verses. They are not unlike one another in their general tenour, although, of course, A's definition of those 'qui in carne sunt' as *qui mundi sapientiae student*—A 125. 43—including doubtless students of astronomy, physics, &c., is wider than that of Pelag.—707. 12—*carni deditus*.

P's comm.—707. 14—on 'vos . . . estis . . . in spiritu' *Hoc est, in spiritualibus occupati* would seem to imply some agreement per contra with A's denunciation of those who are *sapientes mundi*. It is further to be noted that the interpolator—P 707. 15 ff—follows Orig.-Ruf. and Ambstr. 126. 22 f in taking 'Spiritus Dei' and 'Spiritus Christi' to mean the same thing.

98. Rom. viii 12, 13. Compare P's comm. on v. 12—707. 47 ff—*Hoc totum agit, ut ostendat eis legem non esse necessariam, quae carnalibus data est*—with that of Ambstr. 127. 38 ff *Rectum et manifestum est, non nos adinventioni Adae, qui carnaliter egit, obsecundare debere . . . sed legi Christi servire nos debere*. P's note becomes a little more intelligible if taken in conjunction with the comm. of Ambstr. as there is no context to make it quite clear what he means by the Law *quae data est carnalibus*.

On 'mortifying the deeds of the body through the Spirit' v. 13, Pelag.—708. 11 f—says *si spiritualibus actibus carnis opera subieceritis*. Ambstr. 128. 12 ff explains, *Corpus vult lege animae gubernari; unde ostendit quia si duce sancto Spiritu actus et consilia carnis . . . fuerint repressa . . . vitam praestari. Mortificari enim dicuntur*—he continues—*si cessent etc.* Pelagius on v. 10—707. 35 ff—urges something more positive: *Non enim hoc solum quaeritur, ut a carnalibus cessemus, sed etiam ut et spiritalia faciamus*.

99. Rom. viii 14. Pelagius's explanation of 'Quicumque spiritu dei

¹ Ambstr. 125. 9.

aguntur' as *Quicumque merentur sancto spiritu gubernari*—P 708. 15 f—is certainly not derived from Ambstr. The comm. of the interpolator—P 708. 17 ff—is more in keeping with Ambstr. 128. 21 f.

Note, however, that the expression 'filii dei' naturally suggests to both Pelag. and Ambstr. the correlative idea, *filii diaboli*. P—708. 16 f—says *sicut e contrario, qui peccant, spiritu diaboli aguntur, ab initio peccatoris*. So Ambstr.—128. 22 ff—writes *in quorum enim* (sc. *actibus consilia principum et potestatum huius mundi*) *videntur, non sunt filii Dei, sed diaboli, etc.*

*100. Rom. viii 15. P's note on this verse—708. 25-32—will be shewn to be indebted to that of Orig.-Ruf. VII 2. It is not impossible, indeed, that his following comm. 708. 36-39 was developed from a sentence in Orig.-Ruf. In this comm. Pelag. says *Qui vocat patrem, filium se esse profitetur*. *DEBET ERGO PATRI IN MORIBUS SIMILIS INVENIRI, ne pro nomine quoque in vacuum usurpato maiori poenae subiaceat*. The idea expressed in the passage printed in capitals occurs twice in Ambstr., viz. 128. 46 ff and 129. 10 f in his comm. on v. 16. In his comm. on v. 15 Ambstr. says we must so order our lives *ne nomen Dei Patris in nobis iniuriam patiatur, et ea omnia quae evasimus, veluti ingrati incurramus* (with this compare the passage *ne . . . subiaceat* in Pelag.). Ambstr. continues *si enim huic voci, qua dicimus: Abba, pater, DISSIMILEM VITAM EXHIBEAMUS, iniuriam Deo facimus, vocantes eum patrem*. It seems more likely, therefore, that Pelagius's comm.—708. 37 f—was suggested by the passages quoted from Ambstr. than that it was developed from the short sentence at the end of Orig.-Ruf VII 2.

101. Rom. viii 16. P's comm.—708. 41-43—*Testimonium adoptionis est quod habemus spiritum, per quem ita oramus*—is in close accord with that of Ambstr. 129. 6-9 . . . *manente in nobis Spiritu sancto, huic voci et animo nostro, qua clamamus in oratione: Abba etc.*

*102. Rom. viii 17. There is again a family resemblance between the comm. of Pelagius, Origen-Rufinus, and Ambstr. on the first part of this verse. The idea expressed in P's comm.—708. 46 ff—*Qui meretur esse filius, meretur effici heres patris et veri filii coheres*—is expressed in Ambstr. 129. 22 f, where he says that what we call 'haereditas' *donum est patris in filios obedientes transfusum: ut vivus viventis haeres sit merito proprio, non necessitate defuncti*. There are, however, more verbal resemblances between Pelag. and Orig.-Ruf. VII 3, e.g. *Haeres quis efficitur Dei, cum quae Dei sunt, meretur accipere*—p. 91—and the source of P's comm. is more probably here than in Ambstr.

*103. Rom. viii 18. With regard to the family resemblance referred to in the last note, it is to be observed that the quotation from 1 Ioan.

iii 2—*Scimus quoniam, cum apparuerit, similes illi erimus*—appears in Pelag. 708. 52 f on Rom. viii 17, in Ambstr. 129. 36 f in his comm. on the same verse; and also in Orig.-Ruf. VII 4 p. 97 there is found a quotation from the same verse—*quia videbimus eum sicuti est*—in his comm. on v. 18. So in P 709. 9—on v. 18—there is a further quotation from 1 Ioan. iii 2. On v. 17 Ambstr. says—129. 42 f—*Compati est persecutiones tolerare propter spem futurorum etc.*, and then commences his following note on v. 18—129. 51—*Exhortatio haec ad superiora pertinet etc.*

Compare Pelag. 708. 56 f on v. 18—*Hinc vult futuram gloriam commendare, ut praesentes pressuras facilius toleremus.*

*104. Rom. viii 19. In the explanation of this verse attributed by Pelagius to *Quidam*—709. 17 ff—occurs the following: *Adam et Evam esse creaturam, quos olim serpens spe divinitatis vanitati subiectos corruptioni fecerit deservire . . . 'Et ipsi,' inquit, 'liberabuntur, ut iam non corruptioni deserviant.'* Compare with the above the following extract from the brief comm. of Ambstr. 130. 30 ff *ut tunc demum etiam ipsa creatura possit liberari a servitute corruptionis et cessare a vitio* (or, with other MSS, *cessare a servitio*).

*105. Rom. viii 20, 21. P's definition of 'vanitas'—709. 40 f—is *Vanitas est omne quod quandoque finitur*. Compare with this Ambstr. 133. 37 ff *Quid est ergo in quo vanitati subiecta est, nisi quia quae generat, caduca sunt? et sqq.* Note in Ambstr.'s comm. on v. 21 a characteristically Pelagian touch—A 131. 8 f—*cum crediderint omnes, quos scit Deus credituros*: cf. P 711. 31 *et saepe*.

The interpolator's idea of 'vanitas'—P 709. 41 ff—does not seem to have any connexion with the comm. of Ambstr.

*106. Rom. viii 22, 23. It is exceedingly difficult to discover what exactly Pelagius understood by 'the creation' of v. 19. His comm. from 709. 12 to 710. 25 are largely interpolated, and seem to fall into three categories: first, the passages at P 709. 13–15 (genuine), and 41–48 (interp.), where 'omnis creatura' is not defined except as awaiting the time of the resurrection; second, the passages at P 709. 17–30 (genuine)—a *Quidam* passage—709. 30–39, 58 ff; 710. 12–25 (all interpolated), where the 'creature' is variously taken as Adam and Eve or the *rationalis creatura*; third, the passages at P 709. 15 ff, 49, 56 ff; 710. 7 ff (all genuine) where the 'creature' is taken to be the angels. Pelagius seems to have wavered between the two interpretations of 'creatura' as (1) all the *rational* creation and (2) the angels, inclining more, perhaps, to the second explanation.

The three interpolated comm., mentioned above as falling into the second category, are all undoubtedly by the same hand, and are all in sympathy with the opinion of *Quidam* mentioned in P 709. 17. The first of these passages—P 709. 30 f—contains an objection to the opinion of another set of *Quidam*—P 709. 33—that the

'whole creation' includes the *irrationalis vel insensibilis creatura*. This is exactly the opinion of Ambstr. 131. 15 ff, who refers there to sun and moon and the rest of the *creatura mundana* alluded to in his next comm. 131. 40.

Ambrosiaster takes 'creatura' in v. 22 as *creatura mundana*, and in v. 19 (see note 104) apparently as *creatura mundana* plus ourselves; see also A 131. 40 ff on v. 23.

Rom. viii 23. Another indication that the interpolator was acquainted with Ambstr. is provided by the somewhat curious fact that in his comm.—P 710. 14 ff—*manifeste edocuit, quia non de irrationali vel insensibili creatura sermonem fecerit, quae non participat Spiritum sanctum . . .* he is using one of Ambrosiaster's own arguments against himself, viz. *Quanto magis ergo creatura (sc. mundana) ingemiscit, quae neque adiutorem habet Spiritum sanctum . . .* Ambstr. 132. 20 f.

*107. Rom. viii 24, 25. Both comm. in different ways draw attention to the two elements in hope, first, that it looks to the future and, second, that it has *patientia*.

Pelagius—710. 34 ff—says *nulla ergo spes in rebus visibilibus est Christianis: non enim nobis praesentia promissa sunt, sed futura*: and, in his next comm.—710. 38 f—he writes *Ideo fides per patientiam grandis est praemii . . . spes enim sine patientia esse non novit*.

So Ambstr. 132. 32 ff: *manifestum est non esse spem quae videtur, sed quod non videtur; ac per hoc credentes praemiis afficiendi sunt . . .*: and in his comm. on v. 25 he says—132. 39 f—*expectantur enim futura. Haec expectatio patientia est*.

Note Pelagius's identification of 'ourselves'—v. 23—with Christians—P 710. 35—and compare Ambstr. on v. 23—*Christianis*, 131. 43; 132. 2; *Christianorum*, 132. 9.

*108. Rom. viii 26. There is a very close resemblance between the comments of Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius on this verse.

On 'Nam quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus' Pelagius writes—710. 51 ff—*Quia adhuc per speculum videmus, et frequenter obsunt, quae prodesse arbitramur, et ideo nobis postulata minime conceduntur provisione divina, sicut et ipse alibi ait; 'propter quod ter dominum rogavi ut discederet a me', et reliqua*. The other two commentators also point out that when our prayers are not granted, it is because we have asked for what is contrary to our best interests. Ambstr., for instance, writes—132. 49 ff—*Infirma est enim (sc. oratio nostra), qui (quia?) contra rationem postulat . . . Adiuvat autem (sc. spiritus), quia quae aut ante petuntur quam peti debeant, aut sunt contraria, non sinit fieri*. Compare also Ambstr. 133. 5 f *fallimur enim putantes prodesse quae poscimus, cum non prosint . . .*; Ambstr. 133. 25 f *ut illa nobis a Deo petat quae prosint nobis . . .*; Ambstr. 133. 36 ff *haec petit quae scit Deo placere, et nobis prodesse. Tunc sane pro nobis interponit se idem Spiritus, cum scit nos per ignorantiam . . . contraria postulare*.

So, in Orig.-Ruf. VII 6 p. 114, we find *Interdum enim quae contraria saluti sunt cupimus, infirmitate cogente*. The points of contact between Ambrosiaster and Origen-Rufinus are interesting. In addition to that just given above, compare the opening sentence in the comment of Ambstr.—132. 44 ff—with the phrase *in dolore positi*, and the opening sentence of Orig.-Ruf. VII 6 p. 113, where, apart from identity of sentiment, we find *in agone huius vitae sunt positi* and, later, *in certamine positos*.

In his comment on 'Nam quid oremus sicut oportet, nescimus'—133. 4 ff—Ambstr. quotes from 2 Cor. xii 9 'Sufficit tibi gratia mea; nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur'. This appears also in Origen-Rufinus. Pelagius quotes v. 8, which is also in Origen-Rufinus, and adds *et reliqua*. Ambstr.—133. 16—quotes from Matt. xx 22 'Nescitis quid petatis', with which compare Origen-Rufinus, who adds to 2 Cor. xii 8 the words *nesciens quid orarem*.

There is thus a close resemblance between the three comments on Rom. viii 26, but what is precisely their relationship to each other? Ambrosiaster, as Professor Souter has pointed out,¹ had little or no knowledge of Greek, and is not likely, therefore, to have borrowed from the Greek of Origen. Rufinus, as is well known, used the utmost freedom in translating Origen. Either, then, Rufinus was influenced by Ambrosiaster, or the text we possess of Ambrosiaster may have been interpolated from Rufinus. If we adopt the former and more likely alternative, we may conclude that Ambrosiaster has here influenced both Rufinus and Pelagius, the latter perhaps indirectly through Rufinus.

****109. Rom. viii 28, 29, 30.** There are again points of resemblance between the comments of Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius on these important verses.

The most characteristic Pelagian note is found in his comm. on v. 29, where he explains 'quos praescivit' as *quos praesciverat credituros*—P 711. 31. This idea he expresses again and again, e. g. P 711. 36, 48; 712. 15 on v. 33; 715. 25 on Rom. ix 10; 722. 35 on Rom. xi 2. This definition of foreknowledge has already appeared, as was pointed out in note 105 above, in the comm. of Ambstr. on Rom. viii 21—131. 8 f—*quos scit Deus credituros*, and it occurs again in his comm. on v. 28—133. 50 f—and also in those on vv. 29 and 30—134. 3 ff; 134. 32. On Rom. xi 2 the comments are almost identical: Ambstr. writes—154. 48 f—*Ita et hi quos praescivit Deus credituros . . .*, and Pelagius—722. 35 f—writes *Illam plebem non reppulit quam praescivit esse credituram*. Compare also Ambstr. 143. 2 f on Rom. ix 15; 145. 39 f on Rom. ix 22; 153. 36 f on Rom. x 19; 154. 36, 42 on Rom. xi 1, 2.

¹ *Study of Ambrosiaster* p. 200.

The connexion between Pelagius and Ambstr. is further strengthened by the fact that P's comm. on 'primogenitus' in *v. 29 Primogenitus ex mortuis in gloria*—P 711. 41—appears to be taken from Ambstr. 134. 20 *Est et primogenitus ex mortuis*. (This, according to Ambstr., is only one of several senses in which Christ is the first-born.) Compare also Ambstr. 134. 37 *At si credant aut eligantur ad tempus . . .*, and P 711. 49 ff *Vocatio autem volentes colligit, non invitos; aut certe discretio non in personis, sed in tempore est*.

This interpretation of foreknowledge, which some have rather unfairly, it seems, fathered upon Pelagius, was by no means peculiar to him. What is characteristic of Pelagius is the emphasis he lays upon this view, and herein he seems to have followed Ambrosiaster. The doctrine that predestination depends on merits, which God has foreseen by His prescience, as was pointed out long ago by Richard Simon, was prevalent in the Church before Pelagius's day,¹ and was due no doubt to the influence of Origen. The comment in Origen-Rufinus, ad loc.—VII 8, p. 128—explains that God *sciens quales essent . . . cognovisse suos dicitur, hoc est, in dilectione habuisse, sibi que sociasse*. Apart from *sciens quales essent*, this definition comes nearer to what one may understand to be the orthodox view.

Another who at one time shared Pelagius's view about foreknowledge was Augustine. In his *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epist. ad Rom.*, a work written about 394 and, like Pelagius, shewing traces of dependence on Ambstr., he several times gives this interpretation. This will be treated more fully at a later stage.

As indicating a possible connexion between Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus, one may mention that Judas is mentioned twice by the former—134. 9, 40—and twice by the latter—VII 8 pp. 129, 130.

110. Rom. viii 32. Commenting on the second half of this verse P—712. 11 f—says *Quid potest habere carius, quod nobis neget, qui filium non negavit?* This is implied in Orig.-Ruf. VII 9 p. 135, but is more explicitly stated in Ambstr. 135. 6 ff *Si enim quod maius et praeceptum est praestitit nobis, ut Filium suum verum et carissimum traderet propter nos adhuc impios, quare non quod minus est facturum credatur pro nobis credentibus sibi?*

***111. Rom. viii 35, 36, 37.** P's comm. on these verses shew a few traces of the influence of Ambstr. With Ambstr. 136. 1 f—on *v. 35*—*. . . Christi, qui nobis tam magna et innumera praestitit beneficia* compare P 712. 35 *Post tanta et tam praeclara beneficia*. Pelagius continues—1. 36—*quae poterit tam gravis esse pressura etc.* Ambstr. also—136. 15—used the word *pressuras*.

¹ See Professor Souter's First British Academy Paper, pp. 6-7.

Note also the same idea in the two following comm. :—

Ambstr. 136. 19 ff on vv. 36, 37.

P 712. 54 ff on v. 37.

Si enim morimur pro illo, quod gravius videtur in his, et ille mortuus est pro nobis : sed ille ut prodesset nobis ; nostra autem mors non illi proficit, sed nobis.

quando pro eius nomine morimur, tunc maxime triumphamus, praesertim cum leve sit pro se pati quod pro aliis prior dominus pati dignatus est.

***112. Rom. viii 38, 39.** P's note—713. 2-11—is almost certainly based on Ambstr. 136. 39 to 137. 17.

Pelagius says :

Ambstr. writes :

Pro certo confido quia nec si mihi quis mortem minetur, nec si vitam promittat, nec si se angelum dicat a domino destinatum, nec si angelorum principem mentiatur, nec si in praesenti honorem conferat, neque si polliceatur gloriam futurorum, neque si virtutes operetur, nec si caelum promittat, et inferno deterreat, vel profunditate scientiae suadere conetur, unquam nos poterit a Christi caritate secernere.

Quid enim si mors illata fuerit, nonne lucrum est maximum etc. Neque si praesens vita promissa nobis fuerit dignitate munita, etc. Nec quidem si se angelus nobis ostendat ad seducendos nos . . . Neque si virtus ab aliquo facta fuerit . . . Neque si in altitudinem se nobis ostendat (*sc.* Satan) . . . Neque si per phantasiam . . . profundum nobis ostendat horrore mirandum, qua territi forte succumbamus illi . . . Neque si futura nobis spondeat . . .

Note that the subject of most of the sentences in Ambstr. is *Satanas*. Pelagius is more vague, viz. in P 713. 3 *Si mihi quis etc.*, but there can be little doubt that his note is based on the longer comm. of Ambstr.

In his concluding comm. on this chapter—713. 13-26—Pelagius appears to be independent of both Origen-Rufinus and Ambstr.

***118. Rom. ix 1-5.** P's notes on these verses appear to shew in some places the influence of Ambstr., although it is not discernible in other portions of his notes, e.g. in P 713. 36-46, and the glossarial notes P 714. 4-8.

Both comm. refer to Paul's love and sympathy for the Jews and his grief at their unbelief ; e.g.

P 713. 32 ff says :

Ambstr. 137. 41 ff has :

Contra Iudaeos acturus, primum illis satisfacit non se odii causa haec dicere, *sed amoris*, eo QUOD

Quoniam superius contra Iudaeos loqui videtur . . . , nunc *ut votum suum et affectum circa eos ostendat* . . .

P 713. 32 ff says (*cont.*):DOLEAT ILLOS CHRISTO NON
CREDERE.Ambstr. 137. 41 ff has (*cont.*):Then later, A 138. 1 ff he continues:
ac per hoc DOLET GENUS SUUM . . .
QUIA INCREDULITATE SUA hoc . . .
beneficio se privarunt.

Note also on the word 'optabam' in *v.* 3, which the A.V. translates 'I could wish', that Pelagius writes—713. 55 f—*Optabam aliquando, cum persequerer Christum, non modo optarem . . .*, while Ambstr. 138. 3 ff says *Ergo, optabam, ait, non opto; quia scit fieri non posse, ut tam honestum membrum . . . absunderetur a corpore Christiano* (or with the Rom. edit. *a corpore Christi*).

This may also be the source of the allusion in P 713. 40 f to Paul's being a member of Christ's body—in *Christo . . . cuius est membrum*. This occurs in the comm.—P 713. 36–46—referred to above, in which there are certainly many things that cannot be attributed to the influence of Ambstr.

Orig.-Ruf. VII 13 pp. 157 f. and Ambstr. 138. 27 ff have long discussions on the Godhead of Christ. Pelagius contents himself with a short comment—714. 11–16—quoting the words of Thomas from Ioan. xx 28 'deus meus et dominus meus'.

*114. Rom. ix 6–8. The interpolated comm.—P 714. 20 ff—will be shewn to have some connexion with the corresponding comm. in Orig.-Ruf. VII 14. Note, however, the almost verbal parallels between pseudo-Pelagius and Ambstr.

Pseudo-Pelagius says, l. c. (*ostendit*):

his promissa deberi, non qui secundum carnem ex Abraham, Isaac et Israel nati sunt, sed qui SERVANTES FIDEM patriarcharum, de quorum semine putantur.

Ambstr. 139. 18 ff writes:

ut non hi dicerentur semen esse Abrahæ, qui filii eius essent secundum carnem, sed isti qui FIDEM ACCEPERINT, per quam natus est Isaac.

The interpolator repeats this idea in several places, e. g. at P 714. 37 ff—on *v.* 7—*Semen Isaac non isti, qui secundum carnem nati sunt, sed hi, qui secundum spiritum sunt, hoc est, secundum fidem Isaac*; also at P 715. 55 ff—on *v.* 13—*. . . promissiones non esse eorum, qui secundum carnem filii sunt Abrahæ, sed eorum qui fidem patrum servant atque custodiunt*. Compare also the genuine passages—P 714. 26 on *v.* 6; 714. 47 ff on *v.* 8; 715. 26 on *v.* 10, and the interpolated comm. on *v.* 12—P 715. 46 ff.

With the first of the above comm.—P 714. 37 ff (interp.)—compare Ambstr. 140. 11 ff on *v.* 8 . . . *non possunt dici filii carnis filii Dei: hi enim ex concupiscentia carnis nati sunt, isti vero ex fide spiritualiter etc.*

*115. Rom. ix 10, 11, 12, 13. P's comm. on *v.* 10—715. 17–26—has a good deal in common with Ambstr. 140. 28 ff. [It is curious, on the other hand, that Pelagius has nothing in his notes of Isaac being a type of Jesus (cf. Ambstr. 139. 44 f; 140. 31), while Ambstr. says

nothing about Ishmael (cf. Pelag. 714. 36 ff; 715. 18). Orig.-Ruf. VII 14, 15 says nothing on either point.]

Ambstr. says, l. c. :

Iacob vero et Esau duorum populorum habent typum, id est, credentium et non credentium; but not all the seed of Jacob are believers, or of Esau unbelievers, *cum videamus et de Iacob traduce natos factos perfidos, et de Esau fideles et Deo caros . . . etc.*

So Pelag. 715. 21 ff, speaking of Jacob and Esau, says :

ante quam nascerentur apud deum fidei futurae sunt merito separati, ut propositum dei de eligendis bonis et refutandis malis etiam in praescientia iam maneret. ita ergo et nunc quos praesciit de gentibus credituros elegit et ex Istrahel reiecit incredulos.

[It will be shewn later that a striking parallel exists between the last sentence just quoted from Pelagius and Augustine *Propos. lxii.*]

The interpolator—P 715. 45 ff—is more explicit. He says *Ergo prophetia non de his est, qui secundum carnem sunt Iacob et Esau, sed de his, qui futuri erant ex operibus boni et mali.*

Ambstr.'s comm. on vv. 11-13—A 141. 10 to 142. 33—contains much that is thoroughly Pelagian. He says, for instance, that God, in virtue of His foreknowledge, chooses one and rejects another, and this He does, *quasi praescius, non personarum acceptor*; *nam neminem damnat, antequam peccet*: cf. P 715. 37 f on vv. 11, 12 *Praescientia dei non praeciudicat peccatori, SI CONVERTI VOLUERIT.* Ambstr. likewise recognizes that the responsibility is not God's, for he says of those *qui per invidiam in incredulitate laborant*—*POSSUNT TAMEN CREDERE.* Compare also A 141. 45 f *Praescius itaque Deus malae illos voluntatis futuros, non illos habuit in numero bonorum* and 142. 10 ff *praescientia enim est qua definitum habet, qualis unius cuiusque futura voluntas erit, in qua mansurus est, per quam aut damnetur, aut coronetur.*

*116. Rom. ix 14, 15. Pelagius—716. 13 ff—and Ambstr.—142. 53 ff—give very similar interpretations of v. 15.

Pelagius says :

Hoc recto sensu ita intellegitur :
Illius miserebor, quem ita praescii
posse misericordiam promereri, ut
iam tunc illius sim misertus.

Ambstr. explains :

*eius miserebor, cui praescius eram
quod misericordiam daturus essem,
sciens conversurum illum* (cf. P 715.
37 f above) *et permansurum apud
me . . .* (cf. also Ambstr. 143. 2 f).

117. Rom. ix 16. There is an interesting divergence between the interpretations given by Ambstr. and Pelagius of this important verse. Pelagius, following Orig.-Ruf. VII 16 pp. 164 f., puts vv. 14-19 into the mouth of an opponent of St Paul, and reading v. 14 as a question—'Igitur non volentis neque currentis sed miserentis dei?'*—which Origen-

Rufinus does not, he says—716. 56 f—*hic interrogantis voce utitur* (sc. *Paulus*) *et redarguentis potius quam negantis*. (Pelagius himself would, of course, disagree with the statement 'non est volentis neque currentis'.)

So also the interpolator—P 716. 32 f—says that Paul *personam de contrario assumit*, and later on—ll. 43 f, 49 f—he insists on the freedom of the will.

In Ambstr.'s comm. 143. 10–52, one finds nothing at all said on the conflict between the doctrine of election and free-will. He takes the verse to be said by Paul in his own person, and commences his exposition *Recte, quia non in voluntate petentis sed in dantis arbitrio debet esse quod poscitur*. This comm. follows naturally from his previous note, where he says *ei misericordiam dabo quem praescivi post errorem recto corde reversurum ad me. Hoc est, dare illi, cui dandum est et non dare illi, cui dandum non est etc.* Ambstr. here seems to add something to the words 'Igitur non volentis' which is not intended by the user of them. His interpretation would mean 'So then it is not of him that willeth that God shall shew him mercy'—which is not 'willing' at all. Surely the natural meaning is 'It is not of him that willeth *not to sin*'.

A's note may, however, have had some influence on P's alternative comm.—716. 57 ff—*Sive: Ita non volentis neque currentis tantum sed et domini adiuvantis*. This comm. (restored by Professor Souter) is perhaps to be attributed rather to that of Orig.-Ruf. VII 16 p. 167 f. On p. 168 is found *Itaque neque qui currit, est aliquid, neque qui vult, sed qui effectum dat Deus*. Compare also Augustine, *Propos.* lxii, which will be treated later.

****118. Rom. ix 17.** In his comm. on this verse Pelagius has made undoubted use of Ambstr. He begins—P 717. 2 ff—*Et hoc illi* (the objectors) *male proponunt. Sed hic locus duobus modis a diversis exponitur*; and it is in the first of these two interpretations that he shews the influence of Ambstr. The most striking resemblance may be seen from a comparison of the two following passages:

Ambstr. 144. 35 ff says:

Hoc etiam genere antiqui medici in hominibus morte dignis vel mortis sententiam consecutis requirebant quo modo prodessent vivis, quae in homine latebant apertis, ut his cognoscerent causas aegritudinis, et poena morientis proficeret ad salutem viventis.

So Pelag. 717. 10 ff says:

tale est hoc quod in Pharaone gestum est, quale si medicus de cruciatu iam damnati rei multis inveniat sanitatem, causas inquirendo morborum . . .

[This passage is quoted by Professor Souter in his *Study of Ambrosiaster* p. 30, in the part of chapter I which deals with Ambrosiaster's knowledge of law.]

119. Rom. ix 18, 19. After their temporary divergence on *v.* 16 the comm. of Ambstr. and Pelagius are once more in agreement. Ambstr. says—144. 42 f—*Ex persona contradicentis loquitur* (sc. *Paulus*), which, of course, is P's view as well—P 717. 22, 25. Compare also the interpolator at P 717. 27 f.

After stating the argument of the objectors, that God and not they themselves are the cause of their own wickedness, P 717. 25 continues: *resistit huic rationi vestrae ipsa natura iustitiae dei*. Ambstr. also holds that such a view is incompatible with the righteousness of God, e.g. A 144. 43; 145. 1-6.

***120. Rom. ix 20.** In his comm.—717. 46 f—Pelagius quotes the opinion of *Quidam* who say that Paul is here answering in his own person. This is the view adopted by Orig.-Ruf. VII 17 p. 172, and shared by Ambstr. 145. 8 ff, where he says *Hoc de Isaia propheta est, quod hic quasi proprium ponit etc.* Ambrosiaster and Origen-Rufinus are two at least of the *Quidam* referred to by Pelagius—717. 46 ff.

Note an interesting point of contact between Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus. The words *servum nequam domino*—Ambstr. 145. 12—typifying the position of man in the sight of God, occur in Orig.-Ruf. VII 17 p. 172.—*Et sicut servus nequam, si forte videbitur domino etc.*

121. Rom. ix 21-26. P's comm. on these verses contain nothing of special note, and are not apparently indebted to the comparatively short notes of Ambstr. Like Origen-Rufinus they both refer to the calling of the Gentiles. Note two Pelagian remarks in Ambstr. 145. 39 f—*Scivit enim Deus hos non credituros*, on *v.* 22—and 146. 4—*sciens permansuros in fide*, on *v.* 24.

The interpolator—P 718. 31—on Rom. ix 25 says *Hoc loco Iudam significat*, with which compare Ambstr. 146. 15 f *Primum enim nusquam vocabuntur filii Dei, nisi in Iudaea etc.*

122. Rom. ix 27, 28. On *v.* 27 Pelagius writes—718. 46 f—*Paucitatem eorum credituram esse demonstrans*. For this idea compare the comm. of Ambstr. 146. 27-41, e.g. *De maxima itaque multitudine solos credentes dicit salvari quos praesciit Deus*—again a Pelagian thought.

The text of *v.* 28 commented on by Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius is 'Verbum enim consummans et brevians in aequitate, quia verbum brevium faciet dominus super terram'. This corresponds to the LXX of Es. x 23 (which, as Drs Sanday and Headlam point out in their commentary on 'Romans' p. 265, is a faulty translation of the original Hebrew), and in the main represents what St Paul wrote. St Paul, however, reproduces accurately the idea of the original passage (see Sanday and Headlam, loc. cit.). One wonders if Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius understood aright the passage they commented on. Pelagius writes—718. 50 ff—*sicut ego verbum abbrevio et cito definio*,

ita deus hoc . . . velocitate perficiet. in prophetia autem verbum breviatum novum testamentum accipitur, quia in eo breviter comprehensa sunt omnia. This agrees more or less with one of the explanations given by Orig.-Ruf. VII 19 p. 184 *Possumus autem et totius doctrinae verbum dicere breviatum, ut quod prius lex et prophetae continebant . . . , veniens Dominus pronuntiaret etc.*, followed by the quotation of Matt. xxii 37, 39, 40. The next interpretation of Origen-Rufinus—*Potest et 'verbum breviatum' dici fides symboli etc.*—seems to agree with that of Ambstr. 146. 48–54, where the supreme importance of *fides* is insisted upon.

The word *definitio* used by Pelagius, it may be added, occurs in Ambstr. 146. 45, followed—146. 56—by the noun *definitio*.

There appears, then, to be some connexion between Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius.

123. Rom. ix 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. In his alternative comm. on v. 29 Pelagius says—719. 3 f—*nisi semen Habraham Christus fuisset missus ad populum liberandum.* So Ambstr. 147. 2 ff has *Hoc semen . . . Christus est.* Compare also Orig.-Ruf. VII 19 p. 185 *semini tuo . . . qui est Christus.*

Commenting on v. 30 Ambstr. does not trouble himself with the question which has been exercising Pelagius for the last fifteen or sixteen verses, whether Paul is here speaking in his own person or not. His comm. are quite in accord with those of P 719. 16–25; both commentators point out that the Gentiles have found righteousness by faith in Christ, while the Jews, through unbelief in Christ and dependence upon the works of the law, have failed to attain it.

In their several comments on v. 33 Origen-Rufinus, Ambstr., and Pelagius all explain—Orig.-Ruf. VII 19 pp. 188 f; A 148. 44 ff; P 719. 31 ff—that Christ was made a stumbling-stone and rock of offence to the unbelieving Jews.

124. Rom. x 2, 3. P's comm. on these verses contain a good deal that cannot have been derived from Ambstr. Note, however, that both commentators, P 719. 56 ff; A 149. 35 ff, refer to the misguided zeal of the Jews.

***125. Rom. x 4.** P's interpretation of v. 4 follows closely that of Ambstr.

Pelag. 720. 16 ff says :

Ambstr. 149. 49 f writes :

Talis est qui Christum credidit Hoc dicit, quia perfectionem
die qua credit, quasi qui universam legis habet, qui credit in Christum.
legem impleverit.

126. Rom. x 5. P's comm. on this verse—P 720. 31–34—is probably based on Orig.-Ruf. VIII 2 p. 198. The opinion he attributes to *Quidam* who think—720. 35 ff—*Iudaeos praesentem tantum vitam*

ex legis operibus meruisse, i not essentially different from his own and is similar in substance to that of Ambstr.—150. 6 ff—*iustitia legis Moysi reos illos non faciebat ad tempus, si servaretur, id est, vivebant faciendo legem*. Compare Ambstr. 150. 30 f on Rom. x 6, 7—*Ideo non magna iustitia legis est, nec meritum collocat apud Deum, sed ad praesens*.

The rest of P's note—720. 36 ff—is rather difficult to understand. The Jews *praesentem tantum vitam ex legis operibus meruerunt, quod verum non esse domini verba declarant, qui de vita interrogatus aeterna, mandata legis opponit dicens: si vis in vitam venire, serva mandata* (the very thing the Jews prided themselves on doing): *unde intellegimus quod qui suo tempore legem servavit vitam habuit sempiternam*. If this last sentence expresses an opinion held or shared by Pelagius, it is surely inconsistent with his earlier comment; and indeed, although he states the opinion of *Quidam* clearly enough, he is not equally clear in stating the grounds for their opinion. Ambrosiaster may, however, be one of the *Quidam*. (The above-mentioned difficulty is hardly removed even if one remembers that a distinction is drawn by Origen-Rufinus between *mandata legis* and *opera legis*, the latter being taken to mean *vel circumcisio carnis vel sacrificiorum ritus vel observatio sabbatorum et neomeniarum*—VIII 6 p. 233. Pelagius himself recognizes a distinction between *opera legis* and *maxima legis mandata*. See the passage—P 723. 17 ff—quoted in note 131 following.)

127. Rom. x 6, 7, 8, &c. Pelagius points out—P 720. 44 f—that Paul adapts to Christ what Moses said of the Law. Compare Orig.-Ruf. VIII 2 p. 200 and Ambstr. 150. 14 f . . . *quod hic interpretatur Apostolus de Christo dicens etc.* This resemblance was inevitable.

The rest of P's comm. appear to owe nothing to Ambstr. There is also nothing in P's comm. on vv. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 which appears to have been suggested by Ambstr., except that P's comm. 721. 7 f ('*Salvus eris*') *a delictis praeteritis, non futuris* . . . and 721. 17 *de pristinis actibus* may have some connexion with Ambstr.'s remark on v. 12—151. 47 f—*Credientibus autem sola datur remissio peccatorum*.

Pelagius takes vv. 14, 15, 16 to form *De gentibus obiectio Iudaeorum* and says that Paul's *responsio* starts at v. 17. Herein he takes a line independent of either Ambstr. or Orig.-Ruf. There is more in common between Ambstr. and Orig.-Ruf. than between either and Pelagius. Both Ambstr. and Orig.-Ruf., for instance, understand v. 18 to refer to the Apostles, while Pelagius takes it of the prophets.

***128. Rom. x 19, 20, 21.** Ambstr. at last has something to say of the Gentiles—A 154. 9 ff—whom Pelagius has had in mind from v. 14. His comm.—A 154. 18—'*Tota die*' *semper significat* is like that of P 722. 18—*Toto tempore*.

It is not impossible that P's comm. on *v.* 21—722. 21 f—*Extensio manuum allegorice significat crucem* may have been suggested by Orig.-Ruf. VIII 5 p. 226; but compare Ambstr. 154. 21 ff *Potest hoc et de Salvatore accipi, qui in cruce extensis manibus, interficientium se peccatum arguit.*

Pelagius in his comm. on chapter x has not allowed himself to be influenced to any considerable extent by either Ambstr. or Origen-Rufinus.

****129. Rom. xi 1, 2.** As was pointed out in note 109, there is a most important resemblance between the comm. of Pelagius and Ambstr. Pelagius on *v.* 2 says—722. 35 f—*Illam plebem non reppulit, quam praesciit esse credituram.* This idea is found no less than three times in the corresponding notes of Ambstr., viz. 154. 36 *quos fideles sibi futuros sciuit*; 154. 42 *quam praesciuit Deus salvandam*; and 154. 48 f *Ita et hi quos praesciuit Deus credituros.*

Both comm. point out that it is only unbelieving Jews who have been cast away.

130. Rom. xi 6. P's comm. on *vv.* 3 and 4 shew no trace of indebtedness to the corresponding notes of Ambstr., and in his comm. on *v.* 5—P 723. 8 f—he seems to disagree with Paul himself.

On *v.* 6 Pelagius on 'Otherwise grace is no more grace' says *Quia gratuito munere gratia appellatur*—P 723. 14 f. Compare Ambstr. 155. 22 ff *Gratia . . . est . . . gratuita ratione concessa.*

***131. Rom. xi 7.** P's note has a great deal in common with Ambstr., as a comparison will shew.

P 723. 17 ff writes :

Ideo totus Istrahel non est iustitiam consecutus, quia eam non ex fide quaerebat, sed ex solis operibus se iustificari putabat, cum maxima legis mandata contemneret.

Ambstr. 155. 35 ff says :

Israelitae ii carnales sunt, qui ex operibus legis iustificari se putantes, non sunt adepti, ut iusti essent per fidem apud Deum. Propterea cum omnes rei sint per legem; quia 'maledictus omnis qui non permanserit in omnibus quae scripta sunt in libro legis, ut faciat eam'. Qui autem per fidem iustificari se crediderunt etc.

***132. Rom. xi 8, 9, 10.** P's comm. on these verses cannot possibly have been modelled on those of Ambstr. There is just one point of contact. On *v.* 8 Pelagius insists that if the unbelieving Jews have eyes that cannot see, &c., the fault is not God's but lies in their own will—*ne libertas scilicet tollatur arbitrii*—P 723. 36, *nam si voluissent habere spiritum fidei, accepissent.* So Ambstr. 156. 19 f says *Qui enim cum in-*

tellexisset, credere noluit, id debet consequi quod vult, and later, in line 27, he says *Sunt etenim pessimae voluntatis*.

These passages are characteristic.

*133. **Rom. xi 11.** Ambstr. in his note on *vv.* 8, 9, 10 says that these verses are intended to apply to two categories: *unum <genus> est quod malevolentiae suae causa excaecatur in sempiternum, ne salvetur* (these are the people *pessimae voluntatis*), cf. A 159. 45 ff on *v.* 22. *Alterum genus est quod cum iustitias legis sectatur, iustitiam Christi non recipit.* These, he says, are blinded *ut admiscentibus se ad promissionem eorum ipsa aemulatione, dum invident gentibus, revertantur ad fidem Dei*, cf. A 160. 5 ff on *v.* 23. These are the people, as he points out in his comm. on *v.* 11, who have stumbled indeed, but have not fallen beyond redemption—A 157. 20–28. So Orig.-Ruf. VIII 8 makes exactly the same point, pp. 245 f. Compare Pelagius 724. 17 f on ‘ut caderent? Absit’: *Non penitus et inremediabiliter ceciderunt.*

134. **Rom. xi 12.** Note the resemblance between the comm. of Ambstr. and Pelag. on this verse.

P 724. 33 ff says:

Si delictum eorum tantum *vobis profuit.*

Ambstr. 157. 38 f says:

Manifestum est quia si delictum illorum *profuit mundo.*

This occurrence of *profuit* in both comm. need not be of any particular significance, as there is no very close resemblance between the rest of the comments.

135. **Rom. xi 13, 14, 15.** Both comm. on *vv.* 13, 14 point out that Paul is anxious for the salvation of the Jews—A 158. 1 ff; P 724. 39 f.

Ambstr. and Orig.-Ruf.—VIII 9 p. 257—understand the meaning of *v.* 15 to be ‘what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead’ to the whole world? Pelagius in his three alternative interpretations—P 724. 54 ff—is not so emphatic. In the third of these he says *Sive: Si quos inde liberavero, ad vestram PROFICIENT vitam*, using a word that Ambstr. is very fond of. His references in these three comm. are to the Gentiles.

The interpolator—P 724. 58 ff—understands the reference to be to the Jews:

He says:

Quoniam sicut gentes per fidem *assumptae sunt*, ita etiam Iudaei, si crediderint, ex mortuis ad vitam transibunt.

There is, of course, no similarity in meaning.

Ambstr. writes—A 158. 13 ff:

Quanta plenitudo salutis, si *assumantur Iudaei* ad fidem Christi . . .

Quia ergo (he continues) profectus est, dandam dicit operam, ut credant, quoniam caecitatis obtusio tempore compensati delicti aufertur, *ut voluntatis suae recipiant liberum arbitrium.*

Note the reference here to the freedom of the will, and compare again P 723. 36 on *v.* 8.

*136. Rom. xi 16-24. Pelagius's comments on these verses follow closely those of Ambstr. On v. 16 the comm. are identical in spirit.

Pelag. says—725. 3 ff:

Si qui crediderunt pauci sancti
sunt, et omnes, si credant.

So Ambstr. 158. 23 ff writes:

... ostendit non posse indignos
dici ad fidem hos, quorum iam
patres adepti sunt fidem; *quia si*
pars Iudaeorum credidit, cur non
et alia pars posse credere dicatur?

The firstfruit, then, consists of the believing Jews, and the lump is the rest, if they believe.

With regard to 'radix', v. 16, Pelag. writes—725. 8—*Radix patriarcharum*. The interpolator two lines later says: *Hoc loco radicem Abraham significat*. With this compare Ambstr. on v. 24—A 160. 16 f—*Olivam fidem per quam Abraham iustificatus est accipiamus*... and later, 19 ff, *si ii* (sc. gentiles) ... *conversi in fidem Abrahae inserti sunt*. Compare also P 725. 25 on v. 17, *Radix patrum*, and 725. 20 (interp.), *in fide patriarcharum*.

The interpolated note—P 725. 19 ff—repeated at P 726. 12 ff on v. 24, to which it does not properly belong—has much in common with Ambstr.'s comm. on v. 17.

The interpolated note is as follows:

Hoc loco contra naturam gentilem
populum insitum dicit in radice, hoc est
in fide patriarcharum; et non secundum
naturam arborum quasi insertum, proprii
generis fructum ferre, sed bonitatem
radicis sequi, in quam insertus est.

Ambstr.—158. 33 ff—writes:

Hoc significat, quia non credentibus
multis Iudaeis, gentes insitae sunt *per*
fidem in spem promissionis ... *sed non*
iuxta legem agriculturae, quia bonum
surculum inserunt in non bonam arborem
... Ideo oleastrum dicit insertum, ut
fructum surculus radicis afferat ...

On v. 18 Pelag. 725. 27 ff writes:

Noli de illorum perditione gaudere;
alioquin audies quia non illi per te stant,
sed tu per illos, nec tu illis vitam praestas,
sed illi tibi.

So Ambstr. 158. 43 ff says:

Noli gaudere in incredulitate
illorum ... and later on, nec stabis,
si illud per quod stas, destruis—
158. 52 f.

On v. 20—'noli altum sapere'—there is a general resemblance between Ambstr., Orig.-Ruf., and Pelag. The comm. of Pelag. is very like that of Ambstr. Pelag. says—725. 45 f—*Noli ergo altum sapere hoc est: noli contra eos superbus esse* [compare also P 722. 41 on Rom. xi 2 and 726. 25 on Rom. xi 25]. So Ambstr. 159. 27 writes *Noli superbus esse* ...

P's short comm. on v. 21—P 725. 48 ff—is exactly in the spirit of Ambstr. 159. 29-35.

Note the reference in Ambstr. 160. 18 to the wild olive, which

agrestis et infructuosa natura est—on v. 24—and cf. P 726. 12 on v. 24 . . . *amari et infructuosi esse coeperant*.

There are certainly some points in Pelagius which owe nothing to Ambstr., e.g. P 725. 25 *pinguedinis Christi*, but it seems impossible to doubt that in the main his comm. follow closely those of Ambstr.

*137. Rom. xi 25, 26, 27. Pelagius—726. 59; 727. 1 ff—quotes with disapproval the opinion of *Quidam* who say that the prophecy in v. 26 refers to the future. This raises the interesting point, whether Ambstr. is not one of the *Quidam* here referred to. Pelagius's 'refutatio' is as follows—P 727. 1-6—*quibus respondendum est: 'Ergo et hoc testimonium, veniet ex Sion qui eripiat Istrahel, adhuc futurum est, et rursus Christus adveniet liberare, et si a deo pro tempore excaecati sunt, et non a semet ipsis, quid de illis fiet qui modo pereunt non credentes?'*

In his comm. on vv. 25, 26—160. 29-45—Ambstr. sums up the interpretation he has already given on vv. 8, 9, 10 (see note 133) and to which he has made several references since. There are two categories of unbelieving Jews (1) those *pessimae voluntatis qui malevolentiae suae causa excaecantur in sempiternum, ne salventur*—see Ambstr. 156. 25 ff; 160. 43 ff—these are beyond redemption; (2) those Jews who, *cum iustitias legis sectantur, iustitiam Christi non recipiunt*—see Ambstr. 157. 6 f—these have been temporarily blinded by God but are not beyond redemption. Ambstr. does not say or imply—as Pelagius in his 'refutatio' seeks to make out—that Christ is coming *again* to set them free, but that, when they see how salvation is come to the Gentiles, they may be provoked by a spirit of emulation and follow their example. In fact, says Ambstr.—161. 7 ff—*Hic Dominus Iesus, qui de coelis venturus promissus est ad liberationem humani generis, ipse cotidie remittit peccata conversis ad se, nec statim non credentes condemnat sed exspectat, sciens posse proficere ad agnitionem Dei*. This would seem to answer P's question 'What will be done with those who even now perish through unbelief?' It might therefore seem that Pelagius is not thinking of Ambstr. at all, or that he has read something into him that is not there, and is refuting something that Ambstr. never said at all. What makes it probable that Ambstr. is one of the *Quidam* is the fact that the clause in P's 'refutatio'—'if they have been *temporarily* blinded by God'—and apparently objected to by him, contains exactly what Ambstr. has all along been insisting upon: see Ambstr. 157. 9 f *caecantur ad tempus*—157. 28 *ad tempus obtusos*—159. 49 *quia ad tempus caecatos illos ostendit*—160. 6 f *quos excaecavit ad tempus*—160. 30 *ad tempus caecitatis obtusio data est Iudaeis*—162. 47 *caecaret ad tempus*.

138. Rom. xi 28. P's short comm. on this verse—P 727. 16 f—*Si autem credant, carissimi sunt, dupliciter commendati*—epitomizes the

longer comm. of Ambstr. 161. 30-36, where he says—*QUIA FILII SUNT BONORUM, quorum praerogativa et merito plurima a Deo beneficia perceperunt, REGRESSI AD FIDEM suscipiuntur cum laetitia*. The passages in capitals suggest in what sense they are *duplíciter commendati*.

139. Rom. xi 29. The first of P's alternative interpretations—P 727. 19 ff—will be shewn to have some connexion with Orig.-Ruf. VIII 12 p. 273. The second—P 727. 21 f—*illi sine afflictione paenitentiae, si crediderint, salvabuntur*, is exactly in the spirit of Ambstr. 161. 38-47.

140. Rom. xi 30, 31. Ambstr.'s comm. 162. 6 ff—*quare non magis isti (sc. Iudaei) conversi accipiant misericordiam, quia prius in lege Dei conversati sunt, et quibus facta promissio est?*—suggests another possible source of P's comm. on v. 48 *duplíciter commendati*.

On the words in v. 30—'Nunc autem misericordiam consecuti estis propter illorum incredulitatem'—Pelag. is content to add—727. 26 f—*non vestro merito*. So Ambstr. 162. 4 f says *Nunc autem misericordiam accepistis, non vestro merito* . . .

***141. Rom. xi 33.** There is a general resemblance in tone between the comm. of Pelag. and Ambstr. on v. 32. The Jews through unbelief have lost the advantages of their special *praerogativa*, and all alike, Gentile and Jew, now require the mercy of God—Ambstr. 162. 11 ff; P 727. 34 ff.

P's comm. on v. 33—727. 42-45—might very well be regarded as an epitome of Ambstr. It has some points of resemblance to his comm. on this verse—A 162. 31—and to other parts of his comm. on this chapter as well. He says:

Laudat sapientiam dei,	[cf. Ambstr. 162. 33 . . . Deum cum omni laude . . . testatur]
quae tam diu expectavit	[cf. Ambstr. 161. 11; 159. 41 where <i>expectat, expectavit</i> occur]
secundum praescientiam,	[cf. A 162. 35 Nam sciens ab initio conversationes et opera hominum]
donec omnes misericordiam indigerent,	[cf. Ambstr. 161. 44; 162. 7 et alibi]
ut omnibus de falsa iactantia operum gloria tolleretur.	[cf. Ambstr. 162. 26 f Itaque nemo se iactet]

Note that two characteristic expressions also occur in A's comm. on v. 33, viz. *Consuetudine delinquendi*—for which see note 86—and *caecaret ad tempus*, l. 47, for which see note 137, *ad finem*.

142. Rom. xi 34, 35, 36. P's notes on these concluding verses do not seem to owe much to Ambstr. Both indeed speak of God as in-

comprehensible—Ambstr. 163. 9–11 and Pelag. 728. 5—and P's note—728. 13 ff—*hoc apostolus per unitatis mysterium de (or in) patre intelligendum edocet et credendum*, is exactly in keeping with Ambstr.'s comm.—163. 23 ff—where he explains the unity of the Trinity.

143. Rom. xii 1–3. P's notes on *vv.* 1–3 shew little trace of indebtedness to Ambstr. On 'hostiam viventem, sanctam', Ambstr. 164. 10 ff has the following passage: *si corpora nostra incontaminata servemus, dissimiles a saecularibus . . .* These two ideas occur also in Pelag. 728. 28 f *Hoc est, castam et alienam ab omni morte peccati* and 728. 39 f *Nolite similes esse filiis mundi*. Note that Orig.-Ruf. commenting on 'hostia vivens' says—IX 1 p. 285—*Videbitur ergo praecipue hostia vivens . . . corpus esse incontaminatum*, and cf. Ambstr. above.

144. Rom. xii 4, 5. P's notes on *vv.* 1–3 shew more traces of the influence of Orig.-Ruf. than of Ambstr., and his comm. on *vv.* 4, 5 likewise shew signs of the same influence. There are, however, some points of contact with Ambstr. 165. 4–11. Pelagius says—729. 13 ff—*Per comparisonem corporis eos ad concordiam cohortatur . . . ; non enim poterant omnia habere singuli . . .* and in ll. 22 ff *Ut praestando alter utrum quod habemus magis ac magis caritas confirmetur*.

So Ambstr. writes *Exemplo corporis docet non posse nos singulos omnia, quia sumus invicem membra, ut alter alterius non egeat: ac per hoc curam nostri invicem nos agere debere*.

***145. Rom. xii 6.** Compare P's note—729. 26 f—*Donum non ex nostro, sed ex donantis pendet arbitrio*, with what Ambstr. says on Rom. ix 16, A 143. 10 ff—*non in voluntate petentis, sed in dantis arbitrio debet esse quod poscitur*, and see note 117. Ambstr., indeed, does not raise the point in his comm. on v. 6, but there are certain portions of his short note which may be paralleled in both Pelag. and Orig.-Ruf. [The connexion between Pelag. and Orig.-Ruf. will be shewn later.]

Ambstr. says—165. 14 f—*Nunc autem ipsa officia deputata membris merito fidei enumerat . . .* and later, on prophecy, he writes—165. 22 ff—*Haec ergo datur pro modo accipientis, hoc est, QUANTUM CAUSA EXIGIT, propter quam datur*. So Pelag. 729. 33 f in an alternative exposition says *Quia fides illam (sc. prophetiam) meretur. unus quisque enim tantum accipit quantum credit*.

Orig.-Ruf. points out that Paul indicates *tres capiendae gratiae modos*—IX 3 pp. 301 f—the first 'according to the proportion of faith'; the second is given *ad id quod expedit*, and the third is *prout vult Spiritus dividere*. This last, he points out, does not imply that man is thereby deprived of his freedom of will—*ne videatur de homine arbitrii potestas auferri*. For this cf. Pelag. 729. 3–5 and 729. 31 (*gratiam virtutum*) *quam deus ei*

donare voluerit. As Orig.-Ruf. points out, it is not ours to command grace but only by faith to deserve it.

Pelagius, then, seems to be more directly indebted to Orig.-Ruf. than to Ambstr. in his comm. on this verse, but it is interesting to note the points where they both touch Ambstr.

146. Rom. xii 7, 8. P's comm. on these verses owe little or nothing to Ambstr. His alternative interpretation of 'misericordia'—P 729. 51 ff on v. 8—where he says *Sive: Misericordiae titulus generalis est etc.*, may, however, be a reminiscence of the detailed discussion in Ambstr. 166. 10 ff, prefaced as it is by a statement similar to that in Pelag.—*sed hoc multifarie intelligendum est; multiplex est enim misericordia sub uno vocabulo* (or, with some MSS, *sub uno enim vocabulo multiplex est intelligentia*).

It should also be noted that in commenting on 'Qui tribuit, in simplicitate'—v. 8—Pelagius says—729. 45 ff—*ut omnibus simpliciter largiatur etc.* Ambstr.—165. 40—reads 'Qui largitur, in simplicitate'; Pelag. and Orig.-Ruf. read 'tribuit'.

147. Rom. xii 11. P's notes on vv. 9, 10 are not at all, apparently, indebted to those of Ambstr. On 'sollicitudine non pigri'—v. 11—Ambstr. 166. 43 ff says *maledictus qui facit opera Domini negligenter. Piger enim in conversatione divina sine spe est; ideo subiecit: Spiritu ferventes. Hoc est, ut in exercitio divini operis aut legis non sit tepidus . . .*

So Pelagius—730. 12 ff—says *Ne per sollicitudinem saeculi pigri in dei opere efficiamini et inertes*; and later, on 'Spiritu ferventes', he writes, *Quia frigidos dominus non amat et in tepidis nauseatur.* With this last again, compare the quotation given by Ambstr. 167. 1 f from Apoc. iii 36 *Quoniam tepidus es, inquit, evomam te ex ore meo.*

It may be noted that Ambstr. 167. 6 ff objects to the reading 'Deo servientes', for which he substitutes 'Tempori servientes'.

***148. Rom. xii 13.** P's comm. on v. 12 do not shew any trace of the influence of Ambstr., but on v. 13 there is an interesting resemblance between the comm. of Ambstr., Orig.-Ruf., and Pelagius.

Orig.-Ruf. and Pelag. both quote the variant reading 'memoriis sanctorum communicantes' instead of 'necessitatibus' (Pel.) or 'usibus' (O.-R.). Ambstr. reads 'memoriis' and his interpretation comes to much the same effect as though he had read 'necessitatibus'. He says—A 167. 42 ff—that the man who wants his prayers hearkened to, *aemulus debet esse vitae sanctorum; cum IMITATUR enim, communicat . . . et si sumptibus indigent, communicandum est eis, sicut dicit alio loco: 'DE COLLECTIS autem quae fiunt in sanctos'.*

Orig.-Ruf.—IX 12 pp. 314 f—says he 'remembers' the variant reading¹: he seems also to have remembered the gist of Ambstr.'s com-

¹ The reference here to *Latina exemplaria* suggests that Rufinus is interpolating.

ment, as appears especially from his concluding remark . . . *et meminisse sanctorum SIVE IN COLLECTIS SOLEMNIBUS, sive pro eo ut ex recordatione eorum PROFICIAMUS* (a favourite word with Ambstr.) *aptum et conveniens videtur*.

So Pelag. (whose relation to the comm. of Orig.-Ruf. will be pointed out later) says that people should remember the saints and *participes eorum fiant IMITANTES exempla*—P 730. 32 f.

On 'hospitalitatem sectantes'—*v.* 13—Ambstr. in his comm. 167. 50 ff mentions Abraham and Lot. Orig.-Ruf. IX 13 p. 315 mentions Lot only; Pelagius—730. 35—refers to both of them.

*149. **Rom. xii 15.** P's comm. on *v.* 14 is an epitome of Orig.-Ruf. and owes nothing to Ambstr. It is very different with his comm. on *v.* 15. His opening words are—P 730. 45 f—*ut, si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra*. So Ambstr. begins his comm., which is much shorter than that of Pelagius, *Hoc est, quod alio loco dicit: 'Si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra etc.'* (1 Cor. xii 26)—Ambstr. 168. 5 ff. The rest of P's note is probably independent of either Orig.-Ruf. or Ambstr., but there are two reminiscences of Ambstr., which may just be indicated: (1) Pelag. quoting from Iob xxx 25 says—730. 47 f—*... cum viderem homines in necessitate?* Compare Ambstr. 168. 8 f *Cum enim quis fideli solatio est in necessitate ...*; (2) Ambstr. here again—168. 12 f—uses a phrase which often occurs in his comm. and those of Pelag. (see note 8)—*provocat ad profectum*. Pelagius has nothing to say about *profectus* here, but in 730. 49 he uses the word *provocatur*, though not in the same connexion.

Compare also the expressions *corpore Christi*—P 730. 57—and *corporis Christi*—A 168. 11—and the contexts.

150. **Rom. xii 16, 17.** The comm. of Ambstr., Orig.-Ruf., and Pelag. on *v.* 16 all agree in explaining 'alta sapere' as equal to *superba sapere*; cf. P 731. 8; Orig.-Ruf. IX 17; Ambstr. 168. 19.

Compare the resemblance between the three comm. on 'Noli altum sapere'—Rom. xi 20—pointed out in note 136.

P's comm. on the rest of this verse follow Orig.-Ruf. and shew no trace of indebtedness to Ambstr.

P's notes on *v.* 17 have very little resemblance to those of Ambstr. Both, however, point out that if we 'recompense to no man evil for evil', we have our reward before God—Pelag. 731. 20 ff; Ambstr. 168. 50, 54 f.

*151. **Rom. xii 18.** There is an interesting resemblance between Ambstr., Orig.-Ruf., and Pelagius in their comm. on this verse.

Pelagius seems to have made some use of Ambstr., as he quotes—731. 30 f—the passage from Ps. cxix (cxx) 7 *Cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus*: which occurs also in Ambstr. 169. 24 f.

Ambstr. and Orig.-Ruf. both recognize the difficulty, or even impossibility, of living peaceably with all men [Pelag., characteristically enough, in his alternative interpretation suggests that Paul regarded it as not impossible: *in vobis est ut fieri possit*—P 731. 32 f], but they urge us to do our part, so that the fault of any discord that arises may not be ascribed to us. Compare the following passages:—

Ambstr. 169. 41 ff says :
Nos ergo parati sumus [simus?],
 si fieri potest, *ut cum omnibus pa-*
cem habeamus; aliis autem repu-
 gnantibus fiet impossibile, NON EX
 NOBIS; . . .

Orig.-Ruf. IX 21 p. 321 writes :
 <Paulus> moderatissimum dedit
 praeceptum: *ut interim noster*
animus semper sit paratus ad pa-
cem, et discordiae culpa NON PENES
 NOS, sed penes alterum constet.

152. Rom. xii 20. There are some slight points of contact between the comm. of Ambstr., Orig.-Ruf., and Pelag. on this verse.

Pelagius—731. 48 ff—says *Ut cum sibi carbones intellexerit per tuam indebitam misericordiam congregari, excutiat eos, id est, convertatur et diligat te . . .* The interpolator also says in much the same spirit: *Cibando enim inimicum et potando eum ad pacem vel reconciliationem provocamus . . .*—P 731. 55 f.

At the end of his note Ambstr. says—170. 39 f—*verum etiam humilitate ad amicitiam provocare hortatur.*

Ambstr.'s phrase—170. 34 f—*obsequiorum nostrorum sedulitate COMPUNCTI* suggests a comparison with Orig.-Ruf. IX 23 p. 324: *Potest enim fieri ut animus ferus ac barbarus inimici . . . si . . . COMPUNCTIONEM cordis capiat . . .*

Compare also P's phrase above quoted: *per . . . misericordiam congregari* with *ex nostro misericordiae et pietatis opere congregantur* in the comm. of Orig.-Ruf., where the word *congregantur* occurs in two other places as well.

There is a general resemblance between the comm. of Ambstr., Orig.-Ruf., and Pelag. on v. 21, but P seems here to be more indebted to Orig.-Ruf. than to anything in the comment of Ambstr.

153. Rom. xiii 1, 2. P's comm. on these verses shew very little trace of indebtedness to those of Ambstr. There is just one point where they tend to converge. On v. 1 Pelag. says—732. 11 ff—that Paul is here issuing a warning to those *qui se putabant ita debere libertate Christiana uti, ut nulli aut honorem deferrent aut tributa dependerent.*

So Ambstr. 171. 23 ff, on v. 2, says *Hoc contra illos est, qui per potentiam fortes sunt, aut qui ab aliquo deprehendi se posse non credunt, et per hoc illudere se legem putant.*

The phrase *tempus redimere*—P 732. 16—from Ephes. v 16 occurs in Ambstr. 167. 13 on Rom. xii 11.

154. Rom. xiii 3, 4, 5. P's comm. on these verses are apparently little influenced by those of Ambstr. In their comm. on v. 5 there is

a possible point of contact. Ambstr. says—172. 2 ff—that all ought to be subject to the higher powers *non solum propter iram, id est, ultionem praesentem . . . sed et propter futurum iudicium ; quia . . . illic eos poena exspectat, ubi accusante conscientia ipsa puniuntur.*

Pelagius has two alternative interpretations—733. 3-7—and an interpolated comment which is perhaps a more correct exposition. In the first of these occurs the passage: *Non solum quia possunt potestates etiam sine causa irasci, sed et ne propter alicuius peccati conscientiam condemnemini.* He does not say—as Ambstr. does—whether this condemnation is present or in the Day of Judgement. Compare P's reference to *conscientia* in his comm. on Rom. ii 15 (note 34).

155. Rom. xiii 6. P's alternative comm. contains a passage—733. 18 f—*ne videretur Christus superbiam docuisse*—which looks like a reminiscence of Ambstr. 172. 15 f, where he quotes Christ's words from Matt. xxii 21—*Unde et Dominus : Reddite, inquit, quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari.*

There is very little in common between the comm. of Ambstr. and Pelagius on verse 7. Ambstr. says—172. 26 ff—*Timorem potestati exhibendum . . . deinde aut parenti, and domino terreno . . . ;* with which cf. P's comm.—733. 27-32—and 733. 33 f, where he says *Etiam timorem maioribus.*

156. Rom. xiii 8, 9, 10. Orig.-Ruf. IX 31 pp. 336 f here takes our 'neighbour' to mean the good Samaritan, i.e. Christ.¹ Pelagius—733. 48 f—says *omnis homo proximus esse censendus est*, and herein agrees with Ambstr., who in his comm.—172. 46 ff—mentions that this injunction 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' is found in Levit. xix 18.

There is one small point of contact in the comm. of A and P on 2. 10. Pelag.—734. 9 f—on 'plenitudo legis', says *Hoc est perfectio ;* with which cf. Ambstr. 173. 15—*quae (sc. dilectio) legis est perfectio.*

****157. Rom. xiii 11, 12, 13.** There is a close resemblance in thought between the comm. of Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius on these verses, and in some cases there is almost an identity of expression.

Compare, first, the comm. of Pelag. on vv. 11, 12 with Ambstr.

Pelag. 734. 12 ff writes :

Hora est, ut ad perfectiora tendatis : . . .

Pelag. 734. 15 ff: *Item hortatur Apostolus, ut tenebrosa et somni torpore depressa opera relinquentes, in lumine, hoc est, in bonis operibus*

Note, in particular, the beginning of A's note—173. 33-41—on v. 11 :

Tempus esse dicit, quo ad meritum proficere debeamus. . . excusso somno, id est, IGNORANTIA sive negligentia.

¹ Cf. C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL vol. vii pp. 590-593.

ambulemus (interp.). Then, on 'De somno surgere', he writes (P 734. 18 ff): DE SOMNO inertiae et IGNORANTIAE consurgamus; iam enim scientia lucet.

On v. 12 he says: Comparat diei scientiam, et IGNORANTIAM NOCTI. P 734. 25.

On v. 11, again, he writes: Scientia *proficiente* propior est nostra salus quam credidimus. P 734. 22 f.

The relation between Pelag. and Orig.-Ruf. IX 32, 33 will be pointed out later.

Ambstr. and Orig.-Ruf. IX 32 p. 339 both, like Pelag., define 'the night' as the night of ignorance. It is, however, in their comm. on the particular works of darkness referred to in v. 13 that their connexion with one another is most apparent.

In his comm. Orig.-Ruf. says—
IX 33 p. 340:

- (1) Ista sunt opera tenebrarum, quae et carnis opera appellantur . . .
- (2) Comessationes enim, hoc est, inhonesta ac luxuriosa convivia,
- (3) . . . quid aliud subsequetur, nisi cubilia et impudicitiae?

Cf. also Ambstr. 174. 5 f: Prius enim IGNORANTES Christum, in TENEBRIS eramus.

With the interpolated comm. cf. Ambstr. 173. 34 ff: Hoc est, 'de somno surgere,' operari bonum, quasi in die, hoc est, palam . . . *et alibi*.

Compare the following from Ambstr. 174. 10-38:

- (1) Tenebrarum opera sunt vita carnalis, [also in ll. 19 f occurs —tenebras, quae sunt vitia carnis]
- (2) Comessationes sunt luxuriosa convivia, . . .
- (3) Post luxuriosum convivium et ebrietatem hoc subiecit, quod sequitur, id est, concubitus impudicus; hic enim huius lascivitatis est fructus.

Ambstr. continues his definition of 'comessationes', given above, as follows: ('Convivia') *quae aut collatione omnium celebrantur* . . .; with which compare Pelag. 734. 41 f *Comessatio est mensae collatio*.

There is again, apparently, a family resemblance between all three commentaries, although Pelagius curiously enough writes the fullest notes of all three—fullest at one rate in point of matter.

158. Rom. xiii 14. It will be shewn that Pelagius's comm. on this verse approach Orig.-Ruf. IX 34 in one or two places, but it certainly would appear that the first comm.—P 734. 53-56—is more directly indebted to Ambstr. The whole of it, in fact, is included in Ambstr.

174. 45 to 175. 9. P says: *Solus Christus violatur in vobis, non vetus homo: 'qui enim dicit se in Christo manere, debet, quo modo ille ambulare, et ipse ambulare', in quo omnes sunt virtutes, et nulla vitia.* Compare the mention of the *vetus homo* in Ambstr., e. g. 174. 1 on v. 12, and at the end of his comm. on this verse, where he writes—175. 8 f—*exutis enim veterem hominem in novitate vitae manendum est.*

****159. Rom. xiv 1-4.** It is not easy to determine exactly the relation of Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius to one another in their comm. on these verses. There are resemblances between the comments, and differences.

Pelagius in the uninterpolated comm.—735. 5 to 736. 7—is unusually vague and unsatisfying. This is seen in his definitions of the 'strong in the faith' and the 'weak'. His categories are:—

(1) 'THE STRONG': *qui se fortes putabant, UT INMODERATE CARNIBUS VESCERENTUR.* 735. 6.

Also the following—

Qui aut tantam fidem habet ut non moveatur, AUT ABSTINENTIA CONFRACTUS AUT SENIOR EST. 735. 20 ff.

(2) 'THE WEAK': (*Qui est*) *infirmus, AUT IUVENILI AETATE, AUT CORPORIS CALORE.* 735. 23 f.

... *non de Iudaeis, ut quidam* (including Origen-Rufinus and apparently Ambstr.) *putant, sed de abstinentibus.* 735. 26.

These two sets, he adds—735. 43 ff—*habebant inter se scandala: illi istos quasi carnales iudicabant, et isti illos tamquam stultos inridebant et superstitiosos putabant.* P again—736. 1—uses the word *ille* = *abstinens* and *iste* = *manducans*. The portions of P's comm. printed in capitals above contain matter which P has apparently added to St Paul and to which there are no parallels in either Ambstr. or Origen-Rufinus. P implies that Paul is anxious to restore harmony among those who hold different views *de edenda carne*, and here he agrees with Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus, who are much more explicit on the point. Also, where he defines the weak as *abstinentes*, he follows the older comm. He seems to have been familiar with the comments of both Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus, who appear to be among the *Quidam* to whose view P objects in his comm. 735. 25 f, but a great deal of his comm. is independent of either, e. g. P 736. 4-7.

The interpolator is very interesting. He touches Pelagius, Ambstr., and Origen-Rufinus at various points.¹ His comm.—P 735. 7-16—is a very admirable exposition of St Paul—Rom. xiv 1—and his argument there—*quoniam omnis creatura Dei bona est etc.*—recalls Ambstr. 175. 32 ff *Legit enim in Genesi omnia bona valde esse, quae creavit Deus.*

In his comm.—735. 11 ff—occur the words *ne imperiti ita sentientes iudicent.* So in Orig.-Ruf. IX 36 p. 346 the words occur *Nam et imperitior si videat quempiam*

¹ Cf. also Augustine *Propos.* lxxviii.

profundius aliquid . . . sentientem. Compare also a few sentences earlier *Solent . . . imperiti peritos iudicare . . .*

In 735. 31 f the interpolator tells the weaker brother not to be a *iudex alterius voluntatis*. Ambstr.—175. 47 f—urges the same forbearance, *quia voluntatis est edere aut non edere*.

At the end of his comm. the interpolator says that a man is not to be blamed for eating *si forte asperitate valetudinis aut senecta hoc faciat exigente*. Compare P 735. 22 quoted above.

The interpolator says—P 735. 55 ff—that the exhortation in *v.* 4 is addressed to the weaker brother. Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus understand it to apply to both strong and weak.

The word *robustus* which occurs in line 57 of this comm. is found also in Orig.-Ruf. IX 36 p. 345.

Origen-Rufinus, after a literal and natural interpretation of Rom. xiv 1-2—IX 35—launches out into a metaphorical and perhaps rather strained exposition, in which he says that Paul is applying the term *cibus* to the Word of God, and in which he defines the 'infirmus' as he who *non ita perfectus est sensibus ut possit omnem cibum verbi Dei sumere*.¹ There is nothing of this in Pelag., or in Ambstr., whose comm. on *vv.* 1-4 are indeed the shortest of the three.

To recur to the question of the *Quidam* of P 735. 25. Pelagius implies that the 'weak' and the 'strong in faith' are two sets of believing Romans who held different views on the matter of eating flesh. He disagrees with the opinion of *Quidam* who think that Paul is here referring to the Jews.

Ambstr. in his comm.—175. 15 ff—says *Quoniam ex Iudaeis erant, qui Romanos ad nomen [v.l. fidem] Christi assumpserant, admixta lege . . . ; ideo quibusdam videbatur prohibitam carnem edere non debere ; ali-quibus autem qui sine lege Christum sequebantur, videbatur contra legem licere edere*.

Taken in conjunction with what he says in his *Prologus*—p. 47—the first category would seem to apply to the believing Jews living at Rome who *tradiderunt Romanis ut Christum profitentes legem servarent*.² The other class, who were strong in the faith, were the believing Romans.

All this is exactly in the spirit of the comm. of Orig.-Ruf. IX 35, where the following occurs, p. 342 :—*Quod potest quidem videri dictum ad eos qui ex Gentibus crediderunt, extollentes se in libertatem fidei, qua nihil commune aut immundum esse crederent, adversum eos qui ex circum-cisione crediderunt, observantes adhuc secundum traditionem legis ciborum*

¹ The categories of Origen-Rufinus are clearly stated in his comm.—X 8—on Rom. xv 8.

² In his comm. on Rom. xiv 14—177. 48 f—Ambstr. is more explicit. His first category is thus indicated *Sive qui ex Iudaeo Christianus est, sive gentilis fidelis putat esse aliquid tale vitandum*. See also Ambstr. 180. 33-44.

differentiam. [With *immundum* above cf. P 735. 58 (interp.), *omnia munda mundis*.]

These passages seem to establish it as a fact, that Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus are two at least of the *Quidam* to whom Pelagius refers in 735. 25.

160. Rom. xiv 5. The interpolated comm.—P 736. 16-19—harmonizes with both Ambstr. and Origen-Rufinus. It is as follows: *Item: Hoc est, quod dicit, aliquos esse, qui CERTIS ANNI TEMPORIBUS, alios esse qui OMNI TEMPORE VITAE SUAE ab esu carnum decreverunt abstinendum.*

So Ambstr.—176. 15 ff—says: *hoc est, alicui placet interpositis diebus edere. Nam sunt quidam, qui QUARTA FERIA carnem non edendam statuerunt: sunt qui SAEBATIS, sunt iterum qui A PASCHA USQUE AD PENTECOSTEN (non?) edant.* These are doubtless the *certa anni tempora* of pseudo-Pelagius.

The comm. on 'another esteemeth every day alike' are all to the same effect, i. e. that such people spend their whole life in abstinence. As Origen-Rufinus says—IX 37 p. 347—*Alius . . . hoc iudicat, . . . , ut . . . CONTINUUM VITAE SUAE TEMPUS exigat in abstinentia.*

Ambstr.'s comm. on 'Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet' is: *hoc est, unusquisque suo consilio remittatur.* [He has already used this expression on the 'infirmus' in v. 1 *qui timere edere.* Paul, he says—175. 27—wishes the weaker brother *remitti iudicio suo.*] It is doubtful whether the two expressions are identical in meaning, as the corresponding comm. of Origen-Rufinus is *uniuscuiusque sensibus dat liberam facultatem.*

[Q: Could the expression in A 175. 27 mean 'to forego his judgement', i. e. *not to exercise it*, and in 176. 22 f could it be translated, 'let every man give his judgement free course' or 'give himself free course in the exercise of his judgement'? The phrase occurs in A 178. 1 f where it might = 'it should be left to his own judgement', and also in A 180. 40 f cf. 'remitti proposito cordis'.]

161. Rom. xiv 6. P's comm. on this verse appear to owe very little to either Ambstr. or Origen-Rufinus. There is some resemblance, perhaps a chance one, between P's comm.—736. 20 ff *Domino sapit, qui propter deum ieiunat, et non propter homines*—and that of Ambstr. 176. 25 f *Verum est, quia qui semper abstinens est, Deo placere se putat.*

P's admirable little comm. on vv. 7-9 do not appear to owe anything to Ambstr. They shew some indirect traces of the influence of Origen-Ruf. IX 39, but the warning in P 736. 39-41 is characteristic and independent of either Ambstr. or Origen-Rufinus.

162. Rom. xiv 10, 11, 12. There are not many points of contact between the short comm. of Pelagius on these verses and the equally short notes of Ambstr.

Pelagius, like Origen-Rufinus, recognizes that the first 'thou' in v. 10 is addressed to the 'weaker' brother, and the second 'thou' to the

'stronger'. This is implied in Ambstr.'s reading of the text—A 177. 9 ff—*Tu autem quid iudicas fratrem tuum in non edendo? aut tu quare spernis fratrem tuum in edendo?* 1f *in non edendo = dum non edis etc.* From the fact that the words *in non edendo* and *in edendo* give an ambiguous sense and are omitted from the edit. Rom. it might be conjectured that the phrases are interpolated.

In his comm. Ambstr. says—177. 12 f—*Docet non oportere iudicare in hac re, tum quia non continetur in lege . . .* With this compare P 737. 2 on v. 12, *De his, de quibus lex tacet.*

*163. Rom. xiv 13, 14, 15, 16. The comm. of Pelag. and Ambstr. simply amplify Paul's teaching, and therefore touch one another at several points. The stronger brother is advised to practise abstinence and not censure the weaker in things that do not matter.

On v. 13 Ambstr.—177. 30—says *Cessemus a discordia* and the reason is given by Pelag.—737. 5 f—*Sufficit quod nunc usque fecistis.*

On v. 14 Ambstr.—177. 37 ff—says, *Manifestum est quia Salvatoris beneficio omnia munda sunt, qui . . . REDDIDIT STATUM PRISTINAE LIBERTATIS, ut digni sint uti tota creatura . . .*

So Pelag.—737. 14 f—writes, *per Christum enim scio omnia esse mundata . . .* and later he comments on this liberty—737. 32 ff—*LIBERTAS, QUAM HABEMUS IN DOMINO, ut omnia nobis munda sint.*

Origen-Rufinus also has a parallel passage—IX 42 p. 365—where he says, *Nihil enim in creaturis Dei natura sui immundum est (omnia namque a bono Deo creata, bona esse constat et munda).* With this again compare Ambstr. 175. 33 f on v. 2.

Origen-Rufinus has also something to say about our liberty in the matter of eating—p. 366—*Cum . . . dedisset (sc. Paulus) erga usus ciborum fidelibus quibusque ABSOLUTISSIMAM LIBERTATEM, rursus ad aedificationem fraterni amoris licentiam resecat libertatis.*

All three comm. tell us not to abuse this liberty, viz. Origen-Rufinus in the passage above quoted, Ambstr. in his comm. on v. 15—178. 8 ff—Pelag.—737. 33 ff—on v. 16, and advise us to cultivate a spirit of *caritas*.

P's comm. on v. 16 referred to above—737. 32-35—has no direct connexion with the corresponding comm. of Ambstr.—178. 27-39—but, as has been shewn, it can be paralleled from other parts of Ambstr.'s comments.

164. Rom. xiv 17. P's opening comm. on this verse is, *Non per escam iustificamur*—P 737. 37. Compare Ambstr. 178. 41 f *Manifestum est quia nemo per escam placet Deo aut displicet.* This is practically repeated from his comm. on v. 15, where he says—178. 7—*Quia non de esca aut placet quis Deo aut displicet.*

There is also a parallel in sense between P 737. 46 f—*ex dissensione*

semper tristitia et molestiae generantur—and Ambstr. 178. 48 f—*Disceptatio autem non habet gaudium sed iram.*

P's short comm. on *v.* 18 does not seem to owe anything to Ambstr.

165. Rom. xiv 19. P's idea that *Aedificatio est abstinencia*, and the rest of his note—P 737. 54 f—have nothing to do with the corresponding comm. of Ambstr. The comm., however, which immediately precedes *ut non invicem nos de huius modi iudicemus*—P 737. 51 f—contains an idea to which a parallel can be found in the opening of Ambstr.'s comm. on this verse—179. 14 f—*ab intentione (v. l. contentione) edendi aut non edendi dissimulare nos docet.*

166. Rom. xiv 20. Commenting on 'opus dei' Pelag. says—737. 56 f—*Hominem scilicet a deo creatum.* Compare Ambstr. 179. 23 *Homo opus Dei est per creationem . . .*

There is nothing else in the comm. of Pelag. and Ambstr. on the rest of *v.* 20 or on *v.* 21, which calls for special comment. It is quite possible that the resemblances between Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelag. in their interpretations of these verses are more or less accidental, as the meaning of the verses is quite obvious, and resemblances are rather to be expected than differences.

167. Rom. xiv 22, 23. P's note—738. 15 f—*Si in hoc te fidelem putas, sic manduca, ut nemo tuo infirmetur exemplo*—is in the spirit of Ambstr.'s comm.—180. 13-20—and also of Orig.-Ruf. X 4.

Note that Pelagius and Origen-Rufinus give identical readings of the text of the first part of *v.* 22. If the punctuation of Ambstr.'s text—180. 12 f—were changed and a point of interrogation after *habes* substituted for the colon after *temetipsum*, his reading would be that of the Vulgate.

P's comm. on the second half of *v.* 22—738. 18 f—goes beyond that of Ambstr. 180. 21 ff.

P's comm. on *v.* 23—738. 31 f—*QUICQUID ERGO ALIUM DESTRUIT ex fide non est et idcirco peccatum est*—would be more in place as a concluding comment on the whole chapter than on this particular verse. It seems to extend Paul's meaning unduly, and certainly goes beyond the interpretation of Ambstr. The passage in capitals may, however, have been suggested by Orig.-Ruf. X 5 p. 385, with its allusion to pirates kindling a light and luring navigators to destruction.

168. Rom. xv 2. P's comm. on *vv.* 1-4 will be shewn to bear many striking resemblances to those of Orig.-Ruf. X 6. It is interesting to note that the quotation from 1 Cor. x 33, which is given in full by Pelagius—738. 42 ff—and Origen-Rufinus, is also given in part by Ambstr. 181. 8 f.

P's comm. on *v.* 4 is much longer than that of Ambstr., of which it
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is much more than a mere expansion. Note that Pelagius here uses *proficiunt*—739. 9—a favourite word with Ambstr., which, indeed, he uses himself in his brief comm.—181. 35—*proficiamus*.

*169. Rom. xv 8. P's comm. on vv. 5, 6, 7 do not shew any apparent trace of the influence of those of Ambstr.

Ambstr.'s comm. on v. 8—182. 17-41—shews several points of contact with both Origen-Rufinus and Pelagius. Pelagius says—739. 56 f—*minister autem dicitur (sc. Christus): non enim venerat ministrari, sed ministrare*, and he goes on to finish the quotation—Matt. xx 28. So Ambstr.—182. 19 ff—writes *Unde Salvator: 'ego enim sum, inquit, in medio vestrum (Luc. xxii 27)', non ut ministrer, sed ut ministrem*. In spite of this P's comm. appears to owe very little directly to Ambstr.

On the other hand, Origen-Rufinus's two interpretations of how Christ is a 'minister of the circumcision' are both contained in the comm. of Ambstr. Origen-Rufinus explains that the term *circumcision* can here be understood to mean *circumcisio carnis* or *circumcisio cordis*. Ambstr. rather reconciles the two. He says—182. 23 f—*Circumcisio enim carnis data est Abrahae in figuram circumcisionis cordis* . . .

Both commentators quote the promise to Abraham (Gen. xxii 18): 'in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes'.

*170. Rom. xv 9, 10, 11, 12. There are some resemblances between the comm. of Pelagius and Ambstr. on these verses.

On v. 9 cf. Pelag. 740. 17 f *Tollit Iudaeis adrogantiam, dum DE GENTIBUS SALUTE DOCET ESSE PRAEDICTUM*; and Ambstr. 183. 1 f (*exemplo prophetico probat; scriptum est enim in*) *psalmo decimo septimo GENTES ADMITTENDAS ad gratiam Dei AD PERCIPIENDAM SALUTEM*.

In his comm. on vv. 10, 11 Ambstr. says—183. 19 ff—that Paul shews *olim decrevisse Deum* . . . *concordes facere Iudaeos et gentes* (Paul's own object); *ut gratiam adepti gentiles socii Iudaeorum fierent*. The idea in the final clause above is exactly that expressed in P's two almost identical comments—P 740. 13 and 15—of which the first is (Rejoice, ye Gentiles) *Qui cum ipsis (sc. Iudaeis) estis ad salutem adducti*. The idea of their union is further expressed by Pelag.—740. 10 f and 739. 45 f. In the latter comm.—on v. 8—P says *unum estis corpus effecti*.

Then on v. 12 compare P 740. 16 f on 'Erit radix Iesse' and Ambstr. 183. 48 ff. The passages are as follows:—

Pelagius.

Iesse pater fuit David, ex cuius semine, id est, Maria, natus est Christus.

Ambrosiaster.

radix Iesse arbor David, quae fructum fecit per ramum, qui est Maria Virgo, quae genuit Christum.

*171. **Rom. xv 13, 14.** P's comm. on these verses are longer than those of Ambstr., who considers indeed that there is a good deal in the verses which does not require explanation. The most interesting result yielded by a comparison of the two comments has already been pointed out in note 8. It is the use by both Ambstr. and Pelagius of the expression *provocare*. Ambstr.'s comm. has obviously influenced that of Pelagius, as a comparison will shew :

Ambstr. says—184. 5 ff :

per laudem . . . provocat eos ad meliorem et intellectum et vitam. Qui enim videt se laudari, data opera elaborat ut vera sint quae dicuntur.

Pelag.—740. 36 ff—says :

Bonus doctor laudando provocat ad profectum, ut erubescerent tales non esse quales ab Apostolo esse credebantur.

Pelagius again uses *provocare* in commenting on Rom. xv 27—P 742. 38.

*172. **Rom. xv 20, 22.** P's comm. on vv. 15, 16 are again longer than that of Ambstr., and they appear to owe nothing to him.

P's comm. on vv. 17, 18, 19 also shew no trace of dependence upon the corresponding comment of Ambstr.

On v. 20 note that both comm. refer to *pseudoapostoli*—Pelag. 741. 40 ff and Ambstr. 185. 9 ff; 185. 42 f; 186. 2.

There is also a similarity in the comm. on v. 22.

Pelag. says—741. 52 f :

Exposuit illud quod in capite dixerat : ' Et prohibitus sum usque adhuc.'

Ambstr.—185. 38 ff—writes :

Quod in capite epistolae memorat dicens : ' Quia saepe, *inquit*, proposui venire ad vos, et prohibitus sum usque adhuc.'

It was, of course, quite natural that both Ambstr. and Pelagius should recall what Paul wrote in Rom. i 13, but still the similarity in the expression is striking.

The rest of P's comm.—i. e. on vv. 23, 24—shew no trace of being indebted to Ambstr.'s comm. on vv. 22, 23, 24.

173. **Rom. xv 25, 26, 27.** P's comm. on vv. 25, 26 do not appear to be in the least indebted to the corresponding comment of Ambstr. Note, however, that on v. 27 Pelagius says—742. 37 ff—*Exemplo eorum provocat Romanos ad simile opus* . . . and compare Ambstr.—186. 8 ff—on vv. 25, 26 *per quam rem Romanos scire vult quia huiusmodi operibus studendum est*. It is also to be noted that P's comment can be paralleled from Orig.-Ruf. X 14, p. 419.

The rest of P's comm. on v. 27 shews no parallel to anything in Ambstr. on v. 27.

P's comm. on *vv.* 28, 29 owe nothing to the corresponding comment of Ambstr. Note, however, that Pelagius once more uses his favourite simile of the *doctor* and the *discipulus*: cf. P 740. 36 and elsewhere: and he uses a favourite word of his, *provocatur*, and also *proficit*, of which Ambstr. is very fond.

*174. *Rom.* xv 30, 31, 32, 33. The general tenour of P's comment—743. 4 ff—on the efficacy of common prayer suggests that he was writing under the influence of Ambstr. 186. 51 *et sqq.*

Pelagius writes :

Rogat ut pro eo tota instanter
oret ecclesia, quia novit multum
valere preces in commune multo-
rum.

Ambstr. says :

. . . sed ordinem sequitur, ut ab
Ecclesia fiat oratio pro rectore suo.
Multi enim minimi dum con-
gregantur unanimes, fiunt magni;
et multorum preces impossibile
est ut non impetrent.

P's comm. on *v.* 31 owes nothing apparently to Ambstr., but there is again a general resemblance between their comm. on *v.* 32—Ambstr. 187. 9–17 and Pelag. 743. 21–24. This is most noticeable in their concluding sentences. Pelagius says that Paul hopes to come to the Romans in joy—*et securus verbum dei abundantius loquar*. Compare Ambstr.'s concluding words *Magnus enim profectus est ei, cuius ministerio laeti effecti, Deum laudibus prosequuntur*. It may also be noted that Ambstr. here uses *profectus*, a favourite word with Pelagius.

The comm. of Ambstr. and Pelagius on *v.* 33 are by no means exactly parallel, but they both recognize that Paul is exhorting the Romans to concord. Note the reference to *pacifici*: Pelag.—743. 26—says *Deus pacis non nisi in pacificis habitat*, while Ambstr.—187. 26 f—concludes *ut in ipsa veritate maneant pacifici*.

*175. *Rom.* xvi 3, 4, 5. There is no resemblance at all between the comm. of Ambstr. and Pelagius on *vv.* 1, 2.

P's comm. on *v.* 3, however, is entirely based on Ambstr.'s comm.—187. 49 to 188. 23. Pelagius says of Priscilla and Aquila—743. 52 f—*confrimasse Apollon dicuntur in fide*. Compare Ambstr. 187. 52 *et sqq.* *Denique Apollo quamvis fuerit exercitatus in Scripturis, ab his tamen viam Domini diligentius instructus est.*¹

Both comment in similar terms on the phrase 'my helpers in Christ Jesus'.

Ambstr. says—188. 4 f—*Aquila vir Priscillae est*. This is pointed out by Pelag.—743. 43 f—on *v.* 1, where he says . . . *Priscillam, cuius vir Aquila vocabatur*.

On the expression—'laid down their own necks' in *v.* 4—Ambstr.

¹ This of course comes from Acts xviii 24–26.

says—188. 13 f—*ut pericula pro eo etiam pati non abnuerent, etc.*; with which cf. Pelag. 743. 59 *se periculis obiecerunt*.

Pelagius further defines 'ecclesiam' as *congregationem fidelium*—744. 4—with which cf. Ambstr. 188. 21 ff *Horum domesticos et vernaculos salutat, quos Ecclesiam appellat*.

Lastly, it may be noted, that Ambstr.—188. 11—uses *profectum* (noun)—a favourite word of Pelagius, used by him indeed in his following comm.—P 744. 28.

176. Rom. xvi 14, 15. Pelagius has not apparently made any use of Ambstr.'s comm. on v. 6. Ambstr. writes detailed comm. on vv. 7 to 13 while Pelagius contents himself with a single note—744. 26–30—which can scarcely be said to owe anything to Ambstr. It is interesting that the notes of Origen-Rufinus are also detailed, and shew at least four distinct points of contact with Ambstr., viz. 188. 36 f; 189. 2 ff; 189. 31 f; 189. 43; Orig.-Ruf. X 21, 24, 29, 30 respectively.

P's comm. on vv. 14, 15—744. 35–38—that in our letters we should salute those of our friends who are *non divites saeculi scilicet facultatibus, vel dignitatibus honoratos, sed gratia ac fide locupletes*—may have been suggested by the tone of Ambstr.'s comm. on these verses—189. 46 to 190. 2.

177. Rom. xvi 16 ff. P's comm. on v. 16, or, at any rate, the first sentence of it—P 744. 40 f—will be shewn to bear traces of indebtedness to Orig.-Ruf. X 33. The rest of his comm. probably owes something to Ambstr. 190. 5 f, where he defines 'in osculo sancto' as *in pace Christi* . . . Pelagius does not indeed follow Ambstr. in distinguishing between different kinds of kisses or of churches, but he emphasizes the idea of peace within the Church.

P's comm. on vv. 17, 18, 19 will be shewn to have some connexion with those of Orig.-Ruf. X 35. They appear to owe nothing to the corresponding comm. of Ambstr. In fact there would seem to be a distinct difference between them at one point. Pelagius says—744. 49 ff—that Paul is warning the Romans against those *qui ex circumcisione illo tempore venerant, ieiunia et abstinentiam destruentes, et neomenias et sabbata et ceteras ferias ventris gratia praedicabant* . . . Ambstr. refers the warning to the *pseudoapostoli* who, he says—190. 29 f—*cogebant credentes iudaizare*.

P's comm. on v. 20 owes nothing to that of Ambstr. 190. 52 *et sqq.* Note that Pelagius omits vv. 21, 22 and the first sentence of v. 23.

The comm. of Ambstr. on vv. 21, 22 shew two points of contact with those of Origen-Rufinus, viz. Ambstr. 191. 14; 191. 20 f and Orig.-Ruf. X 39 and 40 respectively. They differ, however, in their notions of the identity of Gaius mentioned in v. 23.

P's comm. on *v.* 23 owes nothing to that of Ambstr.

178. Rom. xvi 24. Ambstr. reads this verse at the end of the epistle, as *v.* 28. In his comm. he says—192. 40 ff—*In conclusione Christum ponit, per quem facti, et iterum reformati sumus gratia eius, ut mentibus nostris haereat; quia SI BENEFICIORUM EIUS MEMORES SIMUS...* This very probably suggested the conclusion of P's comm.—745. 29 f—*ut in ea etiam commemoraret BENEFICIA CHRISTI.*

vv. 25, 26, 27. There are points of resemblance in the comm. of Ambstr., Origen-Rufinus, and Pelagius on these verses, e.g. in what they say regarding the 'revelation of the mystery', i.e. that it refers to the calling of the Gentiles. The passage in Pelag. 746. 22 ff, for instance, *Praecipit deus ut omnes gentes oboediant et DEUM AGNOScant...* accords with Ambstr. 192. 21 f—*in qua veritate omnem creaturam decrevit salvam fieri PER AGNITIONEM.*

ALFRED J. SMITH.

ON SOME EARLY PROTESTANT DOCUMENTS PRESERVED AT CAMBRIDGE.

ATTENTION having been recently drawn by Signor Esposito to the Waldensian MSS preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, it seems not untimely to submit a new catalogue of those which are to be found in the University Library of Cambridge. I had begun working upon this in December 1914, and although the exigencies of the war have not allowed me to transcribe as much as would enable me to write a detailed commentary on the various documents, I venture to submit my catalogue alone as it stands completed, together with a short introduction, and one or two extracts.

I

In the year 1655 popular sentiment in England was stirred by a report that the Roman Catholic Duke of Savoy had committed a series of atrocities upon his Protestant subjects in Piedmont. The rumours, indeed, were so grave that Cromwell was moved to send out a Commissioner, Sir Samuel Morland, with orders to enquire into the matter.

Morland visited the Court of Savoy, travelled among the inhabitants of Piedmont, and returned to England. Whether he really helped the Piedmontese is not perhaps of immediate importance. He seems to have found the diplomatists of North Italy somewhat too subtle for his blunt English honesty, and he was of course told the other side of the dispute by the Duke's ministers, after the terrible fruits of it had already ripened. However, in due season he issued a report, which he published in 1658 under the title *A History of the Evangelical Churches in Piedmont*, and which seems to have enjoyed a fair circulation. The modern Blue Book is at a disadvantage in lacking the lurid illustrations which adorn Morland's work, but the evidence he collected bears the usual family likeness to that alleged against other invading armies. We may note in passing that Cromwell at this time set the fashion for future liberal governments, not merely by sending his Commissioner and causing his report to be published, but also by registering a strong formal protest against the atrocities, and instituting a public relief fund for the benefit of which he ordered a collection to be made in every English parish. The episode is thus the lineal ancestor of others associated with the affairs of Armenia, the Congo, Putumayo, Serbia, Syria, and Belgium.

II

Here, however, we are chiefly concerned with a piece of literary history. Archbishop Ussher instructed Morland to buy and bring back with him any MSS which the Piedmontese Protestants were willing to part with, and Morland accordingly did so, and deposited some with the University of Cambridge and consigned others to Ussher, who bequeathed them to Trinity College, Dublin. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Piedmontese Protestants, better known as Waldenses or Vaudois, were undoubtedly a sect of respectable antiquity. In the seventeenth century they were believed to trace their origin from Claudius of Turin, if not indeed from sub-apostolic times! They, therefore, presented a very welcome appearance to anti-Roman controversialists who were at pains to establish the primitive nature of Calvinistic Protestantism. Unhappily the Vaudois seem to have been aware of this, for there is evidence to shew that at the time when owing to persecution there was a general dispersal of their ancient literature, not only to Great Britain and Ireland, but also to Paris and Geneva, the MSS underwent considerable doctoring, in order to ante-date them, and to excise from the genuinely older ones such portions as did not breathe an entirely reformed spirit. The result of this was that Morland, Léger, Perrin, and other seventeenth-century writers, living in an age when controversy was apt to warp men's critical judgement and cloud their consciences, and when MSS were somewhat freely dealt with, were able to produce an entirely fictitious account of the early Vaudois and their theology.

Perrin seems to have been proved a liar by the French Protestants themselves, but Bossuet took up the cudgels on behalf of the Gallican Church, and the reply made to him by Canon Peter Allix of Sarum¹ left the balance in favour of the Bishop of Meaux.

Nothing more is heard of the Vaudois until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in the interval the older Morland MSS at Cambridge were catalogued as Spanish and disappeared from view. They remained in obscurity until 1862, when Bradshaw re-discovered them, made a proper list of them for the first time, caused some of them to be transcribed, and printed one. During the interval, in the year 1841, Dr Gilly and some other Evangelicals began to study the Dublin, Paris, and Geneva MSS, chiefly on account of a further persecution which the Vaudois had been then undergoing, which had once more drawn attention to them and excited sympathy. Gilly's work is entirely superseded by that of Dr Todd, who in 1865 made a careful list of the Dublin MSS and printed Bradshaw's list of the Cambridge MSS as an appendix. This is the beginning of the modern study of

¹ Afterwards Dean of Ely.

the documents. Bradshaw expressed the hope that the University Press would undertake the issue of a proper critical edition. Nothing further, however, has been done by English scholars, and the honour so far remains with the continentals. A series of German students soon attacked the problem of the Vaudois literature, namely Hahn, Dieckhoff, Reuss, Keller, Herzog, Limborch, Röhrich, Meyer, and Haupt.

The most important name in this formidable list is Hahn's, which is also the earliest. He printed *in extenso* as far back as 1847 the bulk of the Geneva MSS, thus enabling scholars to compare them with those at Cambridge and Dublin.

Samuel Berger in *Romania*, working as a student of early Romance texts, did much towards making a thorough catalogue of the Vaudois literature, and examined the Cambridge books with some care.

In 1881 Signor Emilio Comba published a history of the Vaudois, which was afterwards translated into English, and prior to this (1885) Professor Édouard Montet of Geneva wrote, what is in many ways, the most lucid and attractive work on the subject, *A literary history of the Vaudois*, and also edited the chief Vaudois poem 'La Nobla Leyczon'.

Bishop Creighton, in his article on the Vaudois in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, has surveyed the greater part of this very extensive literature of the subject.

Finally we have the latest production, dated 1910, and proceeding from Geneva, under the signature of A. A. Pons. This consists of the text of the hitherto less known Vaudois poems, which Hahn had printed in 1847 from the Geneva version only. The Cambridge, Dublin, and Geneva texts are presented in parallel columns, and a critical edition with glossary is promised in the near future. The value of this forthcoming 'Critical edition' would not, however, seem likely to prove very great, since the collator of the MSS does not appear to know about the forged date in the 'Nobla Leyczon' which was pointed out by Bradshaw in 1862.

III

The following facts now emerge in brief summary. The Vaudois take their rise in the twelfth-century movement of reform and protest associated with the name of Peter Waldo. After the year 1530 they become absorbed in the main stream of Continental Protestantism. Consequently no documents after 1530 can be of any particular interest, while any suggestion of a date earlier than 1173 (that of Waldo's conversion) is most certainly a forgery, unless the document containing it can be proved to be a Catholic one taken over without adaptation by the Vaudois.

Waldo's followers were at first regarded as good Catholics and presented a version of the Bible to Pope Alexander III in 1177. They strongly resented being confused with the heretical Kathars of Provence, and were only condemned in 1192, while their actual persecution did not begin till 1199, the second year of Innocent III. The period of their rise is thus practically contemporary with the career of St Dominic and St Francis. Between 1180 and 1202 the Waldenses took refuge at Metz, and the crusade against the Kathars ran its bloody course. In 1210 some of the Lombardy Waldenses approached Innocent III with a view to gaining Papal approval, but apparently without success, for persecution was renewed in 1212, in 1216, and again in 1230, continuing at intervals right up to the verge of the sixteenth century. The Vaudois appear, therefore, to have been in the beginning, like the English Methodists of the eighteenth century, devout but orthodox enthusiasts for popular religion—in fact, rather High Churchmen. As time went on, however, the lack of official sympathy changed into actual hostility, and the Vaudois drifted into heresy and schism, linking up eventually with the followers of Wyclif and Huss, and in 1530 with Oecolampadius and Bucer. This doctrinal development is traced out by Prof. Montet, who distinguishes four groups in the MSS, i. e., Catholic, pre-Hussite, Hussite, post-Hussite.

In proportion as the Vaudois developed more and more definitely Protestant doctrines, so they grew more and more ashamed of their origin as a Catholic guild, and were not only ready to part with such documents as shewed unreformed theology, but were even willing to tamper with the text, and to revise it in parts, with a view to adaptation.

The justification for such adaptation is to be found in the fact that many of the original Vaudois writings of the middle or pre-Hussite period are more or less modified versions of Catholic treatises. What, therefore, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Vaudois had not hesitated to do, their descendants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not ashamed to imitate.

It is not my purpose here to recapitulate the story which is set forth in Montet, and which will in the main commend itself to most of his readers.

Here I am only concerned with the task of making a revised list of the older Cambridge Vaudois MSS presented to the University Library by Sir Samuel Morland, in order to supplement what was begun so ably by Bradshaw, and followed up by Berger and Montet. I shall not trouble myself with the records of the actual persecutions, the *procès d'Ambrun* and others, nor with the documents of a date later than 1530, of which there are a number included in Morland's bequest, but shall confine myself entirely to the six small volumes numbered

Dd xv 29-34, containing inside them the reference letters A-F. Extracts from one or two of the more interesting texts are appended.

LIST.

F. A parchment volume measuring $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Fol. 154 contains the following MS dedication: 'A Monsieur de Morland, commissaire extraordinaire du sérénissime Protecteur Cromuel de la République d'Angleterre, Escosse et Irlande, par son très obéissant serviteur Bellon.' Berger notes that in 1661 a certain Michael Belione signed a document for Léger. This suggests that Bellon lived actually in Léger's parish—the valley of Luserna.

Contents.

The New Testament in Vaudois, with small portions of the Old Testament and Apocrypha inserted. Berger thinks that the script is that of the early fifteenth century. His remarks on the text will be found in *Romania* vol. xviii p. 383 and ff, and they serve to supplement Bradshaw's catalogue. Both are summarized below, with additional notes.

St Matthew, minus ch. i—ch. vii middle of verse 12.

minus St Mark.

St Luke, but only ch. i—ch. iii 16.

St John.

minus Romans.

1 Corinthians; minus 2 Corinthians.

Galatians.

Ephesians.

Philippians.

minus Colossians.

Only a few words of 1 Thessalonians.

minus 2 Thessalonians.

1 and 2 Timothy.

Titus.

minus Philemon.

Hebrews ch. xi (possibly on account of the last seven verses), followed at once by Proverbs ch. vi (possibly on account of vv. 12-20) and Wisdom chs. v and vi (ch. v at any rate for obvious reasons).

Acts.

James.

1 and 2 Peter, followed possibly in the original by Eps. and Rev. of St John, but all after folio 158, i. e. from 2 Peter ii 5 onward, is missing.

The MS has folios 154-159 (Bradshaw's numbering) bound in at the beginning, before folio 11.

Bradshaw notes the following defects on March 1, 1862: 1-10, 50, 51-60, 63-68, 94, 97, 114, 141, part of 146, 147-150, 151-153, 159, 160.

The following notes are written on a slip in the book. (Bradshaw.)
Leaf 98 begins 'puras mans . . .' (1 Tim. ii).

2 Tim.

Titus.

Philemon not copied, no defect in MS.

Hebrews, only ch. xi copied, no defect in MS.

Prov. ch. vi, called v in the rubric, copied entire.

Sap. chs. v, vi copied entire.

Acts of the Apostles.

Leaf 113 ends 'de negar. Mas . . .' ().

Leaf 115 begins 'aquesta parollas . . .' ().

(Robertson Smith.)

140 ends Acts xxii 4.

142 begins Acts xxii 26.

145 ends Acts xxvi 4.

184 begins James v 5.

1 Peter.

2 Peter.

158 ends 2 Peter ii 5.

This collection is obviously incomplete, but the choice of some of the fragments does not suggest that it was merely a haphazard one.

As to the text, Berger notes that no argument as to heretical doctrine can for the most part be based upon the variants in translation, as they can generally be proved to proceed from the use of a Latin text 'de basse époque'.

This is, however, not necessarily so in the case of the phrase 'Filh de la vergena', which is substituted for 'Son of Man' in the Gospels, although even this also may yield in time to a perfectly ordinary explanation as Berger suggests (*Romania* xviii 401). The chief interest of the phrase at present lies in the link which it affords with the O. G. Tepl. version of the Scriptures. The Codex Teplensis is a religious manual apparently of the fourteenth century (see Camb. Univ. Lib. 33. 4. 37) containing besides a N. T. version several patristic quotations, especially one by St Augustine on the priesthood of laymen, and a table of lessons, corresponding to that given in the Grenoble Vaudois MS. Some short instructions on doctrine are added, which closely resemble the seven articles of faith professed by the Vaudois missionaries at the

commencement of their ministry. The whole volume is pocket size, and bears a remarkable general resemblance to the Morland MS.

Berger also notes the following comparisons :—

'verbum', trans. 'Filh' as in John i 1.

Matt. xxi 'Hosanna' paraphrased to 'fai nos salf'.

John xxi 2 'Didymus' trans. 'Dubitos'.

Luke ii 35 trans. 'e lo glay *de luy* trapassare la toa arma'.

John iv 5 'praedium' trans. 'lo luoc'.

The text Berger considers to be based upon the Latin version current in Languedoc, except in the case of Acts ch. xvi onwards, where the version is much more of the nature of a paraphrase. E. g. :

Acts xvii 19 e prenent lui meneron lui a *aquella contraa laqual es dicta Ariopago, car aqui se adorava lo dio Mars . . . etc.*

Acts xxi 8 d'aquel Felip loqual era un de li sept diaque delqual nos haven parla desobre, *loqual bapteje lo castra dela regna de Ethiopia.*

Parallels to these may be found in the Grenoble MS. Berger observes : 'cette mauvaise traduction . . . est un texte de basse époque sans aucun caractère méridional. La traduction . . . est sans valeur ; ce n'est probablement qu'un essai malencontreux afin de combler une lacune de quelques feuillets dans un MS mutilé.' Marginal references are numerous, but there are no guides for reading such as are found in other similar versions.

B. A parchment volume measuring $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Written (sec. Bradshaw) in the early fifteenth century.

In 1906 the University gave a transcript of this to the Société d'Histoire Vaudoise.

In three parts, the writing uniform.

Contents.

i. Folios 1-123 a.

1. The seven penitential psalms, in Latin.

Folio 1 is gone.

Folio 2 is inscribed at the top 'Albert possessor', and at the foot—'A Mons^r. Morland, par son servit^r. J. Léger, 1616' and contains the last three lines of Ps. vi, and the beginning of Psalm xxxii.

Folio 2 a Psalm xxxviii, with the Prologue 'Vox cuiuslibet penitentis'.

Folio 3 Psalm li, with the Prologue 'Vox prophetæ vel sanctæ ecclesiæ confitentis et dei misericordiam implorantis'.

Folio 3 a Psalm cii, with the Prologue 'Vox ecclesiae'.

Folio 4 a Psalm cxxx, with the same Prologue.

Folio 5 Psalm cxliii, with the same Prologue followed by the Gloria.

2. The 'In principio' in Latin.

3. Folio 6 'Incipit prologus super glosam paternoster'.

This is a prose tract. The version is unexpurgated, and contains high sacramental doctrine, so that Herzog believes it to have been taken over from Catholic sources. Léger in his *Histoire* prints an abridgement of it, and declares that his MS was incomplete. His text is copied by Hahn.

For a specimen of the teaching, see as follows:—

'Lo terc pan es pan de gracia local es lo cors e lo sang de Xt local es receopu per cascun dia e lautar sot semblanca de pan e de vin. Del cal di lo segnor en l auangeli. Lo pan local yo dono a nos es la mia carn per la uita del mont. E l'apostol dis. Lo calici de la benedicion al cal nos benayçe Donça non es la cu'maleça (?) del sang de Xt. E lo pan local nos fragnen Donça non es per coneiança del cors del segnor. Lo segnor yu Xt es receopu uerayament en aquest sagrament ueray home e ueray dio e ueray filh de dio lo payre, e ueray filh de la uergena maria. Local es fontana e coneiançament de totas las gracias, per local cosa lo es a saber que a recebre aquest sanctissime pane, etc., etc.'

Exp. folio 24 a 'mas delivra nos de mal amen, çoes sença defalhimment. Deo gratias, Amen.

4. Folio 24 a–39 a, the Treçenas, or abridged notes of the epistles and gospels for the year. Montet prints selections from them (*Histoire* p. 225), and Berger comments on the text (*Romania* xviii *vide sup.*).

Inc. folio 24 a La prumiera . . . Exp. daq'lla hora. Deo gratias, Amen, fol. 39 a.

5. Folio 39 a begins the 'Doctor', a prose treatise chiefly made up of a patchwork of quotations. See Montet, p. 59.

Inc. Isidori dis . . . Exp. la corumpament de la pensa, deo gratias amen.

6. Folio 49 is marked 'Prolic', and is followed by a description of the twelve punishments of sinners, i. e. 'Penas', in prose.

Inc. Dio cree lome . . . Exp. lisegle de lisegle verament.

Folio 57. 'Prolic', followed by a treatise entitled 'Goy', i. e. the

twelve joys of Paradise. This latter is quite distinct from the treatise in D of a similar nature, and from the summary of St Bernard given at the end of A.

Inc. Dio done a nos lo ben . . . Exp. de lisegle verament. Amen.

8. Folio 64. A prose tract entitled 'Epistola de li amic'. Printed by Hahn from the Genevan text, which is much shorter than the Cambridge, and has a totally different ending.

Inc. A tuit li fidel amic . . . Exp. a dio en lisegle de lisegle. Amen.

9. Folio 79 a. A poem entitled 'Le novel confort'. For the varying texts of this see Pons, col. 75.

Inc. Aquest novel confort . . . Exp. . . . preciosa. Amen.

10. Folio 86 a. A poem entitled 'Lo novel sermon'. See Pons, col. 22.

Inc. Li legent aquest novel sermon . . . Exp. don paradis, deo gracias. Amen.

11. Folio 96 a. A poem entitled 'La nobla leyczon' already edited by Montet and Stefanus. Morland printed it on page 133 of his history. The text contains the forged date corrected by Bradshaw from comparison with C 5.

Inc. O frayre entende . . . Exp. en sa cort deo gratias. Amen.

12. Folio 107 a. A poem entitled 'Payre eternal'. See Pons, col. 115.

Inc. O payre eternal poysaça, . . . Exp. A ten .3. uers esegnifica. Amen.

13. Folio 111. A poem entitled 'La Barca'. See Pons, col. 55.

Inc. La santa trinita . . . Exp. en la soa santa mayson. Amen.
fol. 118 a

Several blank folios follow.

Folio 123 a is inscribed: 'Iste liber est meus qui vocor Daniel Prinus subiascensis origine.' Berger notes that Prin is still a common surname in the Vaudois country, and that Subiasc is the name of a valley in the Pays de Vaud.

ii. Folios 125-241.

1. Folio 125. A transcript of a well-known continental treatise commonly known as the 'Somme le Roy', which is very lengthy, and has been partly printed by Montet, who first identified it. Cf. 19. c. 11 among the French Bibles in the British Museum, which contains it, with the following note appended (trans.):—

'Compiled by a brother of the order of preachers at the

request of King Philip of France in the year of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ 1279 Deo Gratiis.'

Inc. Lo pramièr comandament . . . Exp. per larma saçar eu(m)plir. Deo gracias. Amen.

2. Folio 237 a. A sermon on St Matthew xii 36-37 entitled 'parollas auciosas'. Found also in Dublin MSS Sec. III, No. xiii, fol. 155 a. See also Camb. C. folios 25-32.

Inc. Mas yo dic a uos que de tota . . . Exp. el sio regne celestial. Amen.

3. Folio 239 a. Sermon on Eph. iv 23.

Inc. Sia renouella per lesprit . . . Exp. lo tio nom.

4. Folio 241 a. A paragraph of seven lines entitled 'de las abusions'. This is an abbreviation of a well-known treatise by St Augustine.

Inc. Doçe son las abusions . . . Exp. Lo poble sença ley. Deo gracias. Amen.

iii. Folios 242-271. Ten leaves are here missing, i. e. 242-251.

1. Folio 252. The end of a piece headed 'Bernart'.

Inc. Mont non poyria . . . Exp. jamays mort premedi delor. Amen. Followed by 'Sermon dal fantin yhus'. This occurs also in Dublin MSS Sec. III, No. liv, fol. 368 a; also in Sec. VI, No. xv, fol. 57 b.

Inc. Sermo. Lo fantin yhus remas . . . e regna en lisegle de lisegle. Amen.

2. Folio 256. Sermon. 'Yhs fo amena de lesprit en le desert.'

Inc. En aquest present auangeli . . . Exp. Lacal nos don far aquel local vio e regne en lisegle etc.

Also found in Dublin MSS Sec. VI, No. xxxi, fol. 85 a.
No. xxxii ,, 85 b.

3. Folio 258. Sermon. 'O seignor salva nos peren.'

Inc. Li apostol pausa en tribulacion . . . Exp. li torment de neguita contorberon mi.

4. Folio 260. Sermon on St Luke xiv; this should really be xvi.

Inc. Un home era ric . . . Exp. O de murmurar en contre li bon.

5. Folio 263 a. Sermon on the feeding of the five thousand.

Inc. Cum sera fossa fayta . . . Exp. nos faça misericordia per la son bonta. Amen.

6. Folio 267. Sermon on St Matthew xiii (the wheat and the tares). Incomplete.

Inc. Lo regne de licel es fayt semblant . . . Exp. La 2 cosa es perihos cant li per . . .

Folios 270, 271 are missing.

On folio 269 b at bottom is inscribed 'Albert possessor'.

- C. On paper, measuring $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and written, according to Bradshaw, about the middle of the fifteenth century. In three parts, all in one handwriting.

Contents.

- i. Folios 1-24. Two sermons.

- a. On confession.

Inc. Confessa li uostre peca . . . Exp. cant el volre el non poyre. fol. 13 a.

- β. On the fear of the Lord. The latter was printed by Morland (*Hist.* p. 119), and the Geneva text is given by Hahn.

Inc. La temor del segnor degieta . . . Exp. Lenfern. dont lo es a saber.

- ii. Folios 25-32 a. A sermon on light speaking. See Camb. B. fol. 237.

Inc. O segnor dio si nos sen a rendre . . . Exp. Amene dio per la soa misericordia. Amen.

- iii. Folios 33-112. Three sections.

- a. A sermon on 'Tribulacions'.

Cf. with Camb. D 2. The Geneva text is printed by Hahn.

Inc. Motas son la tribulacions . . . Exp. que nos hy prenan eysenple. fol. 47 a.

- β. Passages illustrating the sermon.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| i. e. versions of 2 Macc. vii | } from the Vulgate. |
| Job i, ii, iii, and xlii | |
| Tobit | |

Folio 48 missing, inc. 49 Macc. Sa monestauan entre lor . . .

fol. 55. Exp. . . . e de las trop grant crudeletas. Dio gracias. Amen.

Inc. Job. Baron era en la terra dus . . . Exp. velh e plen de dias. Amen. fol. 66.

fol. 66 a. Inc. Tobia fo del trep de la cita . . . fol. 109. Exp. . . . li abitant en la terra.

- γ. La nobla leyczon vv. 1-14 with date in its original form.

Inc. O frayres entende . . . Exp. po saber sa fin, perço . . . fol. 109 a.

Folios 110-112 missing.

VOL. XIX.

R

A. Part parchment and part paper, measuring $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches, written according to Bradshaw in the latter half of the fifteenth century. In six parts, all, except perhaps the last, in one handwriting. This is in many ways the most interesting and least explored of the MSS. It bears Léger's dedication to Morland, and also the seventeenth-century signature 'Benjamin Clemens Valclusunensis possessor'.

Bradshaw after a more careful examination decided that the last sheet of Part 1 and Parts 2, 3, 4, and 5 were by a different scribe, and certainly rubricated by a different hand from the rest. His note is given by Todd, p. 216.

Contents.

i. Folios 2-95 a. (See Univ. Lib. Camb. Add. 2796 for transcripts.)

a. A translation of Genesis i-x from the Vulgate. For the text see Berger *Romania* xviii. Opposite Gen. i are written three quotations taken from one of the Latin pieces in Part V of this volume.

β. A treatise called 'Animanczas', which Montet has shewn to be a Vaudois version of the 'Phusiologus'. At least one other version of this treatise exists in the Univ. Lib. Camb., I think in old French. See also *Pitra Spicilegium solesmense*.

fol. 17. Inc. Alcun savi entendent . . . Exp. aucitas del settenaç. fol. 49.

γ. A prose treatise entitled 'Lo tracta de li pecca', practically all extracted from the 'Somme le Roy' or at any rate belonging to the same family of writings.

Inc. Saint Johan recourta . . . quil lo garde de tota offendament local vio e regna etc. fol. 90 a.

δ. A sermon 'de la parolla de dio'. The preacher in a series of similes exalts the ministry of the word, especially 'la sancta predicacion'. The treatise apparently corresponds to the Dublin MS Liber de Preciosa Cosa xliii fol. 118 a, and also to Prose Tracts III, No. viii, fol. 139 b. Cf. also Stef. de Bourbon, Part 2, Tit. 1, 'De verbo Dei'. This treatise has a date appended to it which Bradshaw reads as 1530, but confesses that it puzzles him.

Inc. sobre aquella parolla. Aquel que samena ysic . . . Exp. . . . enaysi fay aliome la parolla de dio etc. 1530.

Folios 96-98 blank.

Folio 99 missing.

- ii. Folios 100-135 a. A treatise entitled 'De impositione penitentiae'.

Inc. Sequitur videre quae debeant . . . Exp. supra haec et illa, Amen. fol. 121.

This is in its present form a 'Summa Confessorum', much resembling many Catholic originals, but carefully expurgated, so as to omit any reference to priestly absolution. The 'summa' it most nearly resembles is that by Raymond of Peñaforte, from whose work large sections would seem to have been transcribed verbatim. Comparison may also be made with

- (1) Stef. de Bourbon lib. 3. Tits. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
- (2) *Penitential of Theodore of Tarsus* 1677 edition, together with the treatises on Confession thereto appended.
- (3) St Thom. Aq. *Summa, Quaest.* CLIV Art. 1.
CLXII Art. 7.
LXXXIV Art. 2.
LXXII and ff.
LXXX p. 602. Ed. Migne.

Fragments of the text are given by Montet.

The treatise concludes with a 'Sermo invitans ad confessionem'.

(Cf. Penitential Cc. 6. 3, p. 302 and ff. Camb. Univ. Lib.)

Inc. Quod parum aut nihil . . . Exp. non erit destruetur, and a list of instructions as to interrogation of penitents, with notes on remedies against particular sins.

Inc. De simplici penitentia . . . Exp. debet de peccatis dolere, Amen.

- iii. Folios 136-172. A prose treatise, beginning:

'Alcuns volon ligar la parolla de Dio segont lor volunta . . .' This treatise, in favour of free preaching, is highly Protestant in tone. In it Nicolas of Lyra is quoted, a Franciscan commentator held in favour, it will be remembered, both by Wyclif and Luther. This treatise has once before been transcribed, but never printed. (Univ. Lib. Camb. Add. 2796.) It seems to belong to what Montet calls the second or pre-Hussite period of Vaudois literature.

Exp. . . . derant e non profeytar. Amen. fol. 170.

A characteristic passage may here be quoted:

. . . Si ayço es la grant meletrix cercunda de polpra et de uermelhon e daura dor e de peyras preciosas et de margaritas auent lo beorage aurienc en la soas mans, grant babellonia mayre de fornigacion. Apocalix 17. Lacal sere trastorna enayma dio trastorne sadoma e gomora Ysaia .33. Peyre di qui sia babellonia. Dont el meseyme istant a roma dis. La gleysa lacal es en babellonia saluta uos. Lira di. Ço es c(a)lhia¹

¹ Probably for 'lacial sia'.

en roma. E siluestre fo a qui prumierament horna de vestimentas de meletrix. Dont lo es script que constantin dis a siluestre e a tuit li successor de lui meseyme. Nos donen La nostra corona en la testa. Ço es nos lioren a luy la corona del mio cap. Laca es dor purissien e de peyras preciosas per aquella ueraya corona. Johan. 19. Li cavalier plegant corona despinas pauseron sobre lo cap de luy. Ço es de Xrist. E sensec e ensemp lo fregiuz (?) candi e mont e resplandent. Eo lo sobre spallil cum local li emparador se solon circondar lo col. E ac' lo mantel polprienc e la tunica uermelha. E tuit li vestiment emperial. E ueuos meletrix en li sio hornament. Enayma di Johan andrea del soper de li prellat e de li apostolical. 6. Libre. La pomposita non es desser refuda. Mas ac' es desser deffendua quilh non sia leua que li doctor annon entoga e uaria e horna que per liornament la digita del doctora appereysa. O Johan andrea tu faç de li doctor meletrix etc. . . .

A list of deadly sins follows immediately.

170a. Inc. la superbia corporal . . . Exp. Al besognos miserifol cordia obrayriç.

iv. Folios 172-180. In two parts.

a. A Vaudois version of a fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas. It begins with Bk. II, Mandat XII, § 33 med.

(Inc. L'angel dis a herman. . . Chs. iv, v, &c., and Exp. . . poyra aministrar autra cosa, Amen)

continues to end of Bk. III. Similitude 1, when it breaks off with Amen, and a new treatise,

β. begins, which is a sermon entitled 'De las plantacions'. fol. 177.

This is in reality a complete translation of Wyclif's

'De religionibus variis monachorum,

Sive de fundatore religionis.' Vol. ii Opera.

(Wyc. Soc. Pub.)

Inc. lo nostre salvador . . . Exp. caion en la fossa.

Hitherto its existence in a Vaudois version was apparently unknown, and as far as I can discover, I am the first to draw attention to it in this place. The Wyclif Society prints the Latin from a Hussite MS at Vienna, and does not apparently know that another Latin MS exists, i. e. Ff. vi. 2 Camb. Univ. Lib. Bradshaw, Berger, and Montet have all overlooked this little treatise, although Berger remarks that the concluding words of the Hermas section, so-called, i. e. 'caion en la fossa', do not find any counterpart in the original, which is not surprising, seeing that they are a quotation of Wyclif's from the Sermon on the Mount!

¹ ac' = prob. ayçi.

v. Folios 180-232.

A collection of Latin pieces, hitherto entirely uncatalogued in detail. In one of these Wyclif is cited as the 'doctor evangelicus'.

Folios 180-180 a, blank.

Folios 181-191. A treatise on marriage.

Inc. non tantum cives . . . Exp. sed propter Christum hoc faciat etc.

Folio 192. A short paragraph giving the popular mediaeval tradition about the Apostles' Creed.

Cf. Rufinus, Migne xxi 337; St Ambrose, Migne xvii 671 Serms. 33; Pseudo-Augustinus, Migne lxxxix 1034; Forminius, Migne xxxix 2189.

Folio 193. A short paragraph giving a similar tradition about the preaching of the Apostles and their 'provinciae'.

Cf. Orderic. Vital. *Hist. Eccl.* p. i. The form of the legend is that which it assumed from the eleventh century onwards.

Inc. Post gloriosam Christi ascencionem . . . Exp. veram Christi fidem plantarent.

Folios 193 a-199 a. A curious jumble of extracts from the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, St Isidore, &c., on the subject of heathen religions.

Inc. Deus qui de nichilo . . . Exp. prodigiis provocatus.

Folios 199 a-203. A treatise 'Quibus modis peccatum fiat'.

Cf. Sec. II of the same volume. Exp. . . . subdicti erunt.

Folios 203 a-205. A treatise on purgatory shewing what the writer conceives to be the scriptural teaching, i. e. that purgation takes place in divers ways while the souls are 'in vita praesanti viantes'. In quoting Apoc. 7 the text is given 'Hii sunt qui venerunt de tribullacionibus magnis', etc. Wordsworth's *Vulgate* shews no text in which the plural is given. Might not the paraphrase be a side-reference to the Vaudois persecutions?

Cf. C. fol. 33.

Inc. Animae salvandorum . . . Exp. . . . a suis purgantur peccatis.

Folios 205 a-209. A moral exhortation to a young man beginning life.

Inc. Bonus profectus sit tibi . . . Exp. reflete igitur animam tuam.

Folios 209 a-210. A treatise on the three different kinds of truths :—

veritas	{	doctrinae
		iustitiae
		vitae

Inc. Sapientes et doctores . . . Exp. . . . habere scandalum.

Folio 210 a. A short exposition in aphorism of the seven deadly sins.
Inc. Septem sunt peccata . . . Exp. fortiter poenitere.

Folios 211-212. A treatise on the causes why female children are born.
Inc. Sunt quidam qui tantum pariunt filias . . . Exp. . . . concupiscentias nutriebat.

Folios 212 a-223. A treatise in the Wycliffite style, which was begun inaccurately on fol. 210 a, and afterwards crossed out. Its aim is to define the authority of Scripture as superior to tradition. It is largely a catena of authorities, including the 'doctor Evangelicus' himself, Nicolas of Lyra, and many others. The following extract will remind many of Article XXI.

'Ex decretis canonicis nonnullis expertis aperiat¹ generalia concilia statuuisse aut decrevisse nonnulla quae in lege dey non sunt fundata, ymmo ut ibi invenitur nonnunquam unum concilium prae ceteris concilii sententiam retravit aut certe ipsi in discernendo contradixit unde evidenter constat concilia erravisse' (*sic*).

The treatise concludes with a quotation from St Thom. Aq.

Inc. Nos cupientes incedere . . . Exp. mores heretici in effectum, haec ille, Amen.

Folios 223 a-225 a. A curious list of parables and miracles. The references quoted are sometimes wrong, and the whole has the appearance of being done from memory, or is perhaps a list of subjects for sermons, or mere pen practice. The order in any case is most irregular.

Inc. Haec sunt parabola . . . Exp. de sanatione auriculae. Matt. xxvi Luc. xxii. fol. 225 a.

Folio 226. A short paragraph of dates, from Adam to the flood, &c. Mere pen practice, and quite unimportant.

Folios 226-228. A treatise on the subject of the forgiveness of sins, dealing chiefly with the importance of the worthiness of the minister and giving a catena of patristic quotations.

Inc. Quos omnipotens deus . . . Exp. . . . huius et servus est.

Folios 228-229. A passage on 'Claves quas apostoli acceperunt'. This passage may easily be a Wycliffite fragment. Cf. *De Civili Dominio* xxxviii. Duns Scotus is quoted in the second line. It concedes the right of the Church to exclude unworthy members.

¹ A later scribe corrects to 'aperet'.

Exp. . . . Nec cibum cum illo capiant.

Folio 229 a. A tiny paragraph on the difference between latria, dulia, and hyperdulia.

Inc. Differencia est . . . Exp. . . . quam hominibus.

Folio 229 a. Another small paragraph dealing with spiritual communion. Cf. J. Huss *Opera* vol. i: 'De corpore Christi', Sec. II on the lines of 'Crede et manducasti'.

Inc. Supra evangelio Iohannis sexto capite . . . Exp. qui credunt in eum.

Folios 229 a, 230. Texts of scripture, chiefly from 1 Cor.

Inc. Ysaïas . . . Exp. in domino gloriatur.

vi. A folio is here missing. Then begin *several Vaudois fragments*.

Folios 233-234 a. A fragment stringing together the various spiritual gifts, the twelve joys of paradise, &c. Chiefly quotations from St Bernard.

Inc. . . . dont dis david . . . Exp. . . . dis lo segnor etc.

Folio 235. A bidding prayer, concluding with Kyrie and Paternoster.

Nos pregaren lo paire e lo filh e lo sanct spirit par la pieta e par la misericordia que es enluy, que la li plaça desser cum nos enaquest luoc esse tuit liautre que nos seren e nos pardone li nostre peccata en present e li trapassa e nos garde de li avenador se la li play par la soa misericordia. E encara li façan preghiera per li frayre e per las serors per li amic e per las amigas encal luoc quilh sian sobre la facia de la terra. En tribulacion o en uiage o en carçer o en pieta (?) o en paureta o en alcun co(n)stregnament del cors. Plaça al segnor de misericordia quil li deyliore de lors tribulacions sença corrompament de pecca se la li play. Encara li façan preghiera per la conoysença daquista gent par lical nos sen sostengu de la substancia del cors par parolla e par obra e par bona volunta, plaça al segnor de misericordia que el li sostegna de la soa gracia e lor done far tanti ben en la vita present que a la fin vegnan a aquilh de vita eterna que mays non de falhiren. E li enemig, convertissa a degne fruc de penedença, par que ilh non creyssan li lor peccata, sobre nos ni sobre la conoysença daquista gent. E nos done dio gracia que nos pardonan alor aço que dio pardone a nos a la fin se la li play. E complisa en nos e en lor li sept don del sant spirit plus degnament que nos lo saben pregar ni require el nom de ihu XPt kireleyson Xpeleyson Pater Noster.

Folio 236. A historical passage, similar in its doctrine to the lost Strasburg MS. Printed by Bradshaw. It contains the famous

references to the corruption which followed the days of Constantine the Great, and mentions Peter Waldo.

Inc. Mas aço que le gleysa. Exp. nos pensen a . . . fol. 240 a.

Folios 241-243 missing.

D. On parchment $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in., written, according to Bradshaw in the latter half of the fifteenth century. In Vaudois. Imperfect at both ends.

Contents.

In eight sections. Folios 1-10 missing.

1. Folios 11-13 a. A collection of medical recipes incomplete.

Inc. Mem de chascun . . . Exp. que la reiç de lei sia usa.

2. Folios 14-51. A discourse on tribulations, headed 'Ayçi comença sant ysidori'. Exp. la present al cel non en la terra, Amen.

3. Folios 51-59 a. Passage 'Donça vos mesquins' (*mesquins* = mendicants). Cf. Todd Dublin III xlvii described by Bradshaw as a sermon on the seven deadly sins. It appears to have been a favourite exposition of this abundantly treated subject, and first occurs twice in the Dublin MSS Bk. III as above and Bk. VI xi. Exp. faça degne. Amen. fol. 59 a.

4. Folios 60-66 a. A sermon on the text 'Come unto me', and an exhortation to almsgiving.

Inc. O vos tuit liquel. Lauora . . . Exp. de la uostras, Amen.

5. Folios 67-69 a. Three short pieces.

a. The five chastisements of the Lord.

Inc. dio bat home in 5 modo . . . Exp. liqual ilh han fait. fol. 67 a.

β. The voices of the world, the flesh, the devil, and God.

Inc. Nota che la son quatre . . . Exp. defent li seo filh. fol. 68.

γ. The three perils of the age.

Inc. Nos uehen esser . . . Exp. en una sentencia de joh' dicent.

6. Folios 70, 71 a. Several short moral paragraphs.

Inc. Tot lo mont es pausa . . . Co el es uia uerita e uita.

7. Folios 72-80. A short discourse on the twelve joys of paradise.

Inc. Salomon dis . . . Exp. eternalment. Amen.

8. Folios 80 a-100 a. A general exposition of Christian doctrine headed 'A tuit li fidel karissimes Christianes sia salu en

Jhus Xt. lo nostre redemptor, Amen . . .' In eight heads, breaking off in the middle of the third. Montet singles this out for detailed treatment. It belongs, he says, to the period of the strongest Hussite influence, and is in some parts a revision, in Hussite terms, of much older Vaudois writings, in other parts a translation of a Taborite confession of 1431. Léger actually dated it 1120 after having read it, although it quotes Nicholas of Lyra, Augustinus Triumphus, and even Huss himself.

The end, on fol. 100 a is illegible ; the last word seems to be 'ficul'.

- E. On paper $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The least interesting of all the MSS. It is a species of note-book, containing a miscellany of scraps in four divisions. The handwriting is not uniform but agrees well, sec. Bradshaw, with the dates 1519, 1521, which are found in the book. Berger points out that it comes from Fenestrelles.

Contents.

Ten sections.

- 1 and 2 are parts of a Latin Grammar. The verbs are translated into Vaudois.
3. Latin abstracts of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and some sentences from St Gregory.
A poem of 24 lines in French.
A poem of 282 lines.
A fragment of an arithmetic book.
4. An abridgement of a moral treatise on love.
Versus morales, 40 lines.
An exhortation to holy living and dying, 100 lines.
Optima consilia.
'Philosophus', a series of sentences (cf. The Dictes of the Philosophers).
Versus morales, 42 lines.
Some stray quotations from Plato and Aristotle occupying the last three pages.

Note.—The authors of the various sermons and treatises seem to have had before them a fairly complete Old Testament with apocrypha. For instance, the writer of the treatise 'De la confession' C. fols. 1-24, quotes incidentally from Isaiah, Proverbs, Job, Psalms, Zechariah, and three lines from Ecclesiasticus, and the writer on 'La parolla di dio' twice quotes Ezekiel xxxviii, also Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. The author of 'Alcuns volon ligar' refers at length to the Exodus narrative

of the miracles of Moses before Pharaoh, and also quotes Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah, Ezekiel. The only quotations from the Apocalypse occur in the latter treatise, so far as I am aware.

One cannot fail to be impressed with the wealth of patristic quotation, even in the more Protestant documents, including extracts from St Augustine, St Chrysostom, St Gregory, St Jerome, St Bernard, St Isidore, and St Thomas Aquinas.

A. C. BOUQUET.

THE STRUCTURE OF JEREMIAH 1, li.

THE subject of these two chapters, down to li 58, is the fall of Babylon. It is generally agreed that Jeremiah himself had no hand in their composition, and one of the arguments which have led to this conclusion lies in the style of the passage. Thus Budde speaks of 'the want of any logical order or articulation in the passage, endless words without progress, continual repetitions of the same theme'. Duhm thus expresses his point of view: 'The oracle is a purely artificial literary product, for its subject, the fall of Babylon, had no longer any interest for the later time. In spite of the fact that it was captured several times, Babylon was not destroyed by the Persians, but, in competition with other and newer cities, it passed more and more into the background. Antiochus III, who restored the famous old temple in order to give it fresh vigour, seems to have produced no permanent effect. The oracle is a testimony to the passion for writing of a later time, and to its need of entertaining and edifying literature. The author aims rather at quantity than at quality; he has collected all that he found in the ancient literature about Babel, or all that, taken from any source, could be in any way converted to his use. We can recognize a large portion of his borrowings. Especially wearisome is the repetition of the same themes; according to Budde's enumeration, for instance, it is said eleven times that ruin is near, nine times that Babylon will be destroyed, six times that it will become a desert, seven times that Israel will return, and so forth. This kind of thing would be tolerable, if an artistic gradation were to be noticed, if there were present an arrangement produced by a higher idea; but there can be no question of this. The long oracle, which occupies one-thirteenth of the whole book of Jeremiah, has the same literary character as the remaining heathen oracles, but in view of its length is much more monotonous; only a commentator can read it right through.'

Though this judgement has the support of Giesebrecht, Cornill, and Peake, it is hardly fair to the passage. It rests on the assumption that the two chapters were the work of a single author, and were intended to form a single whole. It may at once be conceded that only a very small portion of these two chapters comes from Jeremiah himself, but at the same time it must be recognized that what we have here is not

one oracle, but a collection of oracles, whole and fragmentary, dealing with the same subject, namely, the fall of Babylon and the liberation of Israel. These oracles differ in metre, in style, and in tone, and it is not generally difficult to recognize where one ends and the next begins. They have suffered a good deal in transmission, and the text of the LXX, as so often in the case of the Book of Jeremiah, enables us frequently to recognize a metrical form which would otherwise be obscured by accretions which have crept into the MT.

A word may be said as to the prophetic metres. Apart from the 4:3, which is only found occasionally (e.g. Jer. iv 23-26), there are in the main two broad types. The first we may call the hexameter, since it consists either of a trimeter distich or of a dimeter tristich, 3:3 or 2:2:2, sometimes with the addition of another trimeter, 3:3:3. These metres will be found freely interchanging with one another in the same oracle. The other, using Budde's original name, may be called the Qinah. It is not strictly a dirge metre, but it is difficult to know what other name to give it, and it is certainly that recognized by Budde in Lam. i-iv. It consists of a pentameter interchanging with a tetrameter, but the tetrameter in this case always has some kind of caesura. The caesura of the pentameter is usually after the third beat, but in rare cases appears after the second. Thus the scheme of the oracular Qinah is 3:2, 2:3, or 2:2. Other 'mixed metres' always arouse suspicion as to the accuracy of the text.

The first of these Babylonian oracles is i. 2, 3. The Massoretic text is devoid of metrical regularity, but that which lay before the Greek translators is more uniform, and should be followed, except in 2 b, where, as Cornill has shewn, the LXX, though apparently divergent, really offers testimony to the reading of the MT:—

ואל תכדו	2. הנידו בנוים והשמיעו
הוביש בל חת מדרך	אמרו נלכדה בבל
גוי מצפן	3. כיעלה עליה
את-ארצו לשמה	הוא ישית
מאדם ועד-בהמה	ולא יהיה ישביבה

2 b is still irregular, and the conditions of parallelism make it unlikely that we should reduce the line to an ordinary 2:2 by the use of Maqqeph. It is possible that we should excise one of the clauses, preferably בבל נלכדה. The fragment is in the main a collection of phrases from Jeremiah, but is still recognizable as a separate compilation.

The next oracle depicts the returning exiles asking the way to Jerusalem. It is introduced by a prose verse, in which, perhaps, the original opening of the oracle has been absorbed. V. 5 is all that

remains in metrical form, and that should be read as in the LXX, save that they were hardly right in inserting אלהים after יהוה:—

והנה פניהם יתנו	5. ציון ישאלו דרך
וברית עולם לא-תשכח	ובאו תלכו אליהו

V. 6, 7 are separated from v. 5 by their metre, and again need the help of the LXX for their reconstruction:—

היה עמי	6. צאן אבדת
על-הקרים שבבום	רעיהם התעום
שכחו רבצם	מהר על-נבעה הלכו
וצריהם אמרו לא-נאשם	7. כל-מצאיהם אכלום
למקוה אבותיהם	תחת-אשר-חטאו ליהוה נה-צדק

It is possible that in 5 b the words לא תשכח are a later addition, though they appear in the LXX as well as in the MT. In 7 b the first beat is rather heavy, and the words תחת אשר may be classed under the head of anacrusis, which is not uncommon in the prophetic oracles, or, perhaps more probably, the words נה צדק should be omitted as a gloss. The parallelism of the rest of the verse, however, declares it a typical Qinah line.

V. 8 is a trimeter tristich, possibly the remnant of an oracle of which the remainder has been lost:—

ומארץ כשרים צאו	8. נדו מתוך בבל
	והיו כעתודים לפני-צאן ¹

There follows an oracle in which there is perhaps some admixture of prose, but which admits of metrical arrangement if the LXX be followed:—

מעיר על-בבל	9. כיהנה אנכי
מארץ צפון	קהלי נזים
משם תלכד	וערכו לה
לא-ישבו ריקם	כחץ נבור משכיל
כל-שלליה ישבעו	10. והיתה כשרים לשלל
שמי נחלתי	11. כיתשמו כרתעלו
ותצהלו כאבירים	כיתפשו כענלים ברשא
חפרה יולדתם	12. בושא אמכם מאד
(ציה וערבה)	אחרית נזים מדבר

¹ This arrangement, involving the separation of v. 8 from v. 9, has been adopted in view of the parallelism. It is, however, possible to attach the verse to what follows by reading ו before צאו with the LXX, and reconstructing:—

ומארץ כשרים	נדו מתוך בבל
כעתודים לפני-צאן	וצאו והיו

The last two words are absent from the text of the LXX. They may have been inserted to fill up a mutilated line, as a reminiscence of Jer. ii 6.

To this oracle has been appended a modified form of one which appears in several other places, e. g. xlix 17. This is in hexameters:—

והיתה לשממה כלה	13. מקצף יהוה לא-רחשב
וישרקו על-כל מכותיה	כל-עבר על-בבל ישם

The next fragment is contained in ש. 14, 15. It is a call for vengeance on Babylon, addressed to the enemies who are attacking the city. Corrected by the LXX the metre is seen to be Qinah:—

כל-דרכי קשת	14. ערכו על-בבל סביב
אל-תחמלו אל-חצכם	ירו אליה
רפו ידיה	15. הריעו עליה
נחסרו חומותיה	נפלו אשיותיה
הנקמו בה	כ-ינקמה מיהוה היא
עשו לה	כאשר עשה

To this oracle has been added a fragment of similar import, which, however, is concerned with the desolation of the cultivated land round the city. This is in hexameters:—

ותפש מנל בעת-קציר	16. כרתו זרע מבבל
מפני חרב היונה	
ואיש לארצו ינוסו	איש אל-עמו יפנו

The latter part of this appears to be based on xli 16.

V. 17 refers to the sufferings of Israel, now about to be redeemed. It is possible that the first line alone is original, the rest being of the nature of a gloss. The metre is Qinah:—

אריות הדיחיה	17. שה פרוחה ישראל
מלך אשור	הראשן אכלו
מלך בבל	זה האחרון עצמו

Again the LXX has given the purer text.

V. 18 and 19 were possibly attached to v. 17 because they mentioned both Assyria and Babylon. They contain an oracle in the same rhythm as the last, unless, indeed, the verses are to be regarded as prose:—

על-מלך בבל ועל-ארצו	18. הנני פקר
על-מלך אשור	כאשר פקדתי
ורעה בכרמל	19. ושובבתי את-ישראל אל-ינוהו
חשבע נפשו	וכהר אפרים ובגלעד

The LXX is once more responsible for divergences from the MT. An original oracular utterance which may have underlain *v.* 20 can no longer be restored.

There is a certain obscurity attaching to *ss.* 21, 22, arising from the word מרתים. This was regarded by the compilers of the MT as the name of a country, and they prefixed the gloss על הארץ. The LXX took the word as an adverbial form from the root מרר. Whatever be the meaning of the word, it is clear that it represents something that stood in the original text at the head of the verse. Further, the words ועשה ככל אשר צווחן must be regarded as a later insertion, though they are found in the Greek text as well as in the Hebrew. *V.* 22 is doubtful, and if it be held to be part of the same oracle as *v.* 21 the form in which the LXX had it should be restored. The metre will be Qinah:—

ועל ישביה	21. מרתים עלה עליה
נאם יהוה	פקוד חרב והחרם
בארץ כשדים	22. קול-מלחמה ושבר גדול

If any further proof of the heterogeneous character of these two chapters were required, it would be furnished by the dirge contained in *ss.* 23–27. Its poetic and literary value is far above anything preserved in the preceding fragments. The LXX alone gives a sound text from the metrical point of view, though in one or two cases the sense of that version is not of the best. Thus, whereas at the beginning of *v.* 26 the MT has באו לה מקץ, the LXX renders a text something like כי באו מועדיה. Neither is unmetrical, but neither fits the passage well. It may be conjectured from the context that the original reading was כי באו לה בקץ קין. An apparent awkwardness in *v.* 25 may be avoided by the omission of the unpoetical את:—

פטיש כל-הארץ	23. איך נגדע וישבר
בבל בנים	איך היתה לשמה
ואת לא-ידעת	24. יקשת-לך וגם-נלכדת בבל
כ-ביהוה התגדית	נמצאת וגם נתפשת
ויוצא (את) כל-עמו	25. פתח יהוה (את) אוצרו
בארץ כשדים	כי מלאכה לארני יהוה
פתחו מאבסיים	26. בארלה בקץ קין (?)
אל-תהי-לה שארית	סלוח כמרערים והחרימוה
ירדו לכמח	27. חרבו כל-פריה
ועת פקדתם	הויעליהם כרבא יומם

V. 28 is apparently from a poem which bade the exiles return to Jerusalem and carry with them the news of the fall of Babylon. As read by the LXX it is seen to be regular Qinah:—

28. קול נסים ופליטים מארץ בבל
להגיד בציון את־נקמה מיהוה אלהינו

Vs. 29–32 would seem to be a medley composed of various oracular scraps, which do not seem to fit in with one another, though there are words common to various parts which explain their juxtaposition. *V.* 29 is apparently the beginning of an oracle in *Qinah*:—

29. השמיעו על־בבל רבים כל־דרכי קשת
חנו עליה סביב א־יהי־לה פליטה
שלמו לה כפעלה

Here the fragment breaks off, and a line which has already appeared in *v.* 15 is introduced, probably because its sentiment is similar to that of the last half-line:—

ככל אשר עשה עשו לה

It is possible that the original oracle is resumed in the last line of the verse:—

כִּי־אֵל יְהוָה זֶרַח אֶל־קִדְשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל

V. 30 is a line of irregular metrical form which appears also in *xlix* 26. *Vs.* 31 and 32 are snatches from different oracles, probably inserted here because they contain the word זֶרַח. Both are in *Qinah*:—

31. הִנְנִי עֹלֶיךָ זֶרַח נָאִם יְהוָה¹
כִּי־בָא יוֹמֶךָ וְעַתָּה פִקְדֹתֶיךָ

So the text which seems to underlie the *LXX* in *v.* 31. *V.* 32:—

32. וְכַשֵּׁל זֶרֶחַךְ וְנָפַל וְאִין־לָהּ מָקוֹם
וְהִצַּתִּי אֶשׁ בִּיעָרָהּ וְאִכְלָה כָּל־סִבְיָתָהּ

So the *LXX* and, for the last line, the *MT* of *xxi* 14, where the same expression occurs.

Vs. 33, 34 probably contain an oracle which has been a good deal worked over, and now presents the appearance of prose. It was possibly in hexameter rhythm, as the parallel couplet at the close takes that form:—

34 b. לִמְעַן הִרְגִּיעַ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְהִרְגִּין לִישְׁבֵי בָבֶל

A similar account may be given of *vs.* 35–38, which look like a complicated curse, threatening Babylon and all connected with it with the sword. In its earliest form it was probably a good deal simpler. The metre must be a matter of conjecture.

¹ The presence of this phrase within the oracle is very unusual, and may indicate further corruption.

Of *v.* 39 all that the LXX had before them was comprised in three tetrameter lines, which appear to be based on exilic portions of the Book of Isaiah :—

צִיִּים אֲתֵאִיִּים	לִבָּן יֵשְׁבוּ	39.
בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה	וְיֵשְׁבוּ בָהּ	
עוֹד לִנְצַח	וְלֹא תוֹשֵׁב (?)	

V. 40, 44-46 are apparently a prose adaptation of an oracle which was also employed in the construction of *xlix* 18-21. The original form can no longer be recovered, if it was in rhythmical verse, and the principal difference between the two forms is that in *ch.* *xlix* the judgement was pronounced on Edom, and is included in a collection of oracles directed against that people. Here, of course, the victim is Babylon. This seems to be a fairly clear case of a 'floating' oracle which sometimes was found in one shape and sometimes in another.

V. 41-43, on the other hand, are an adaptation of a genuine utterance of Jeremiah, delivered at the time of the Scythian invasion. It is found in its original form in *vi* 22-24. Curiously enough, the text of this chapter seems to have preserved the more satisfactory text in *v.* 41, for in *vi* 22 the metre is rendered irregular by the omission of the words *ומלכים רבים*. It is clearly *Qinah* :—

וְנִי נָדוּל	הִנֵּה עֹשֶׂב־מִצֶּפֶן	41.
מִירְכַּתִּי אֶרֶץ	וּמַלְכִּים רַבִּים יַעֲרֻ	
אֲכֹרֶיהָ וְלֹא־יִרְחָם	קֶשֶׁת וּכְדִוִּן יִחְזִיקוּ	42.
עַל־סוֹסִים יִרְכָּבוּ	קוֹלָם בִּים יִהְיֶה	
עַל־כַּדְבָּב	עוֹרֹכִים כְּאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה	
רַפּוֹ יָדָיו	שָׁמַע מִלְכָּדְבָל אֲתִשְׁמַעַם	43.
חַיִּל בִּיּוֹלָדָהּ	צָרָה הַחֲזִיקָתָהּ	

In case of divergence the text of the LXX is preferred, and in *v.* 43 *vi* 24 is followed in the omission of *ו* before *רפּוֹ*.

li 1, 2 contain a fragment of an oracle which is even more mutilated in the MT than in the LXX. If it can be regarded as poetical at all, it will be of the hexameter type, beginning with a trimeter tristich. The following text represents approximately that which lay before the Greek translators :—

וְעַל יֹשְׁבֵי כִשְׁדִּים	הִנֵּנִי מַעִיר עַל־בָּבֶל	1.
רוּחַ קָדִים מִשְׁחִית		
וּבִקְקוֹ אֲתִירְצָהּ	וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי לִבָּבֶל	2 a.
זֵדִים חֲדָהּ		

The next oracle extends down to the end of *v.* 6. It is an appeal, first to the destroyers to do their work, then to the inhabitants of
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Babylon to escape. Like other passages in these two chapters, it contains many expressions which seem to be borrowed from elsewhere. The LXX, as usual, offers a text which is more satisfactory than the MT from the metrical point of view, though, if the rhythm was originally regular Qinah (as it appears to have been), there are one or two places where additions were made before the divergence of the two texts:—

ביום רעתה	הוי על־בבל מסביב	2 b.
ויתעל בסרינו	ידרך הדרך קשתו	3.
החרימו כל־צבאה	ואל תחמלו על־בחוריה	
ומדקרים בחוצותיה	ונפלו חללים בארץ־כשדים	4.
ויהודה מאלהיהם	כ־לא אלמן ישראל	5.
מיהוה צבאות		
מקדוש ישראל	כ־ארצם מלאה אשם	
ומלטו איש־נפשו	נסו מתוך בבל	6.
אל־תרמו בעונה		
נמול־הוא משל־מלה	כ־יעת נקמ־היא ליהוה	

V. 7 stands apart from what precedes and from what follows. It is in Qinah, and needs some slight correction—with the LXX—to make its metrical form regular:

משכרת כל־הארץ	כוס־זהב בבל ביד־יהוה	7.
על־כן יתהללו	מינה שתי גנים	

The next oracle, *ש*. 8, 9, has a certain poetic beauty. The inhabitants of Babylon are represented as trying to restore her and failing. The first word is best read as anacrusis, and one small change needs to be made with the LXX on exegetical grounds in *ז*. 9. The rhythm is then Qinah:—

הילילו עליה	נפלה בבל ותשבר	8. פתאם
אולי תרפא	קחו צרי למכאובה	
ולא נרפתה	רפאנו את־בבל	9.
איש לארצו	נעזבה ונלך	
ונשא ערש־חקים	כ־ננע אל־שמים משפטה	

V. 10 is a trimeter tristich which appears to be unconnected with its immediate context:—

את־מעשה יהוה אלהינו	הוציא יהוה את־צדקתנו	10.
	באו ונספר בצינ	

Vs. 11-13 may possibly come from the same original source. They describe an attack on Babylon, and attribute the fate of the city to the design of Yahweh. There are a number of interesting variations in the LXX (apart from the frequent על for אל), but only those which affect the rhythm have been adopted in the text below. These are מלך for מלכי in *v.* 11, and the transposition of יהוה to after עשה in *v.* 12. Possibly the third and fourth lines of this verse are a prosaic insertion. The text of *v.* 13 is seriously corrupt, but the LXX does not seem to supply the basis for a satisfactory restoration. The metre is Qinah, with an unusually large proportion of tetrameters:—

מלאו השלמים	הברו החצים	11.
את־רוח מלך־מדי	העיר יהוה	
מזמתו להשחיתוה	כיעל בבל	
נקמת היכלו	כי־נקמת יהוה־היא	
החזיקו המשמר	על־חומות בבל שא־רנם	12.
הכינו הארבים	הקימו שמרים	
נמ־עשה יהוה	כרגם זמם	
על־ישיב בבל	את־אשר דבר	
רבת אצרות	שכנת על־מים רבים	13.
אמת בצעך	בא קצך	

V. 14, when corrected by the LXX, is seen to be a trimeter tristich:—

כ־ראמלאך אדם כירק	נשבע יהוה בנפשו	14.
וענו עליך הירד		

Apparently a fragment from some oracle which promised restoration to Jerusalem. Style and subject alike separate it from its neighbours.

Vs. 15-19 are also found in *x* 12-16. The text given below differs from the MT in the following particulars. In *v.* 16 the unintelligible תת has been omitted with the LXX of *ch.* x. It may be a relic of an original trimeter which had its own place in the text, but satisfactory reconstruction has hitherto proved impossible. In *v.* 17, for מפסל the LXX rightly had מפסליו and לא for ולא. *V.* 19 is read as with the LXX, which is identical in both passages. The form thus given—3:2:2:2—is somewhat unusual, but quite possible in a poem with a trimeter basis, and the sense is an improvement on either of the forms preserved in the MT. The section will thus run:—

מכין תבל בחכמתו	עשה ארץ בכחו	15.
ובתבונתו נטה שמים		
ויעל נשיאים מקצה־ארץ	המון מים בשמים	16.
ויוצא רוח מאצרותיו	ברקים למטר עשה	

17. נבער כל־ארם מרעת הוביש כל־צרף מפסליו
 כרשקר נסכו לא־רוח־בם 18. הבל־המה מעשה תעתעום
 בעת פקרתם יאברו
 לא־כאלה חלק יעקב 19.
 כ־יצר הכל הוא נחלתו יהוה שמו

הבין in *v.* 16 is still awkward. Perhaps the form conceals a verb. הבין is probably excluded by the מכין of *v.* 15, but תכן may have stood there.

Vs. 20–24 are clearly expanded from a tetrameter couplet found in *v.* 20. כלי should be pointed as a singular. The words are addressed to some champion who is to execute Yahweh's sentence on Babylon:—

20. מִמֶּנּוּ אֶת־הַלִּי כלי מלחמה
 ונפצת־בך גוים והשחית־בך ממלכות

The expansion consists of a detailed account of the damage to be done with this weapon. It may be intended to be regular hexameter verse, but in *v.* 24 tails off into obvious prose.

Vs. 24 and 26 end with the words נאם יהוה, affording a presumption, justified on further inspection, that *vs.* 25, 26 form a separate oracle. In *v.* 25 the LXX rightly omitted the words נאם יהוה. In the following verse Cornill objects with some reason to the words וּנְלַלְתִּיךָ מִן הַסְּלָעִים, on the ground that they do not harmonize with the metaphor of the rest of the section. The point is that the mountain is to be burnt, not that it is to be rolled down from a crag. If retained, the words may be fitted into the metrical scheme by assigning two beats to וּנְלַלְתִּיךָ. There is reason to believe that a word of moderate length might take two beats if it had both a prefix and a suffix. The oracle seems to have run:—

25. הַנְּנִי אֵלֶיךָ הַר־הַמִּשְׁחִית הַמִּשְׁחִית אֶת־כָּל הָאָרֶץ
 וְנִלְלִיךָ מִן־הַסְּלָעִים וְנִלְלִיךָ מִן־הַסְּלָעִים (וְנִלְלִיךָ מִן־הַסְּלָעִים)
 26. וְלִעֲדִיקָהּ מִמֶּנּוּ אֵכֶן לִפְנֵי וְאֵכֶן לְמוֹסְרוֹת
 כִּי־שִׁמְמוֹת עוֹלָם תִּהְיֶה

Vs. 27, 28 again seem to have suffered considerably from redaction, and it is difficult to see what the original basis was. It is possibly to be found in *v.* 27:—

27. שֹׂאוּ נָם בָּאָרֶץ תִּקְעוּ שׁוֹפָר בְּגוֹיִם
 קְדָשׁוּ עֲלֶיהָ גוֹיִם הַשְׁמִיעוּ עֲלֶיהָ מַמְלָכוֹת

the last word being pointed, of course, as in the absolute state.

V. 29 is apparently isolated, in that it describes the judgement as already past. It may once have had a metrical character, though it can now only be regarded as prose.

V. 30 also seems to have been metrical, and to have once formed part of a longer oracle in Qinah. The first line fails to harmonize with the rest from this point of view, but it is possible that the word בבל has taken the place of an original suffix. Assuming this to be the case, we may reconstruct:—

ישבו במצדות	30. חדלו נבוריה להלחם
היו לנשים	נשתה נבורתם
נשברו בריחיה	הציתו משכנותיה

V. 31, 32 are of the hexameter type, and describe the bringing of the news of Babylon's fall to her king:—

ומניד לקראת מניד	31. רץ לקראת־דרך ירדן
כידלכדה עירו מקצה	להניד למלך בבל
שרפו באש	32. והמעברות נתפשו
ואנשי המלחמה נבהלו	ואת האנמים

V. 33 contains a snatch of an oracle in Qinah, in which the LXX had a slightly different text. They read בתי מלך for בת, and omitted the second עת. In the first case the MT is to be preferred, in the second the LXX:—

עת הדריכה	33. בת בבל כנרן
הקציר לה	עוד מעט ובא

V. 34, again, is probably from a different source, though the rhythm is the same as that of v. 33. It is part of a complaint against Babylon placed in the mouth of Israel. The singular suffix should be read throughout, with Q'ri and LXX, and the verse has every appearance of having been mutilated at the end. Parallelism and rhythm alike demand a metaphor corresponding to כתנן; possibly some word like נאר (cf. i 17) has dropped out:—

מלך בבל	34. אכלני הממני נבוכדראצר
בלעני כתנן	הציגני כלי ריק
הדיחני	מלא כרשו מערני

V. 35 may be a continuation of the same poem. The text is doubtful, the LXX apparently reading שדי for שארי. The word ישבת is redundant, and destroys both rhythm and parallelism. Yet it is represented in the LXX, and the curious reading of the Peshitta seems to have some at least of the consonants of the word. It is perhaps better to admit the irregularity:—

תאמר ישבת ציון	35. חמסי ושדי על־בבל
תאמר ירושלם	ודמי על־ישיבי כשדים

Vs. 36–39 form an oracle describing the judgement of Yahweh on Babylon. In *v.* 37 the Hebrew text has received accretions which are absent from the LXX. These are לָנִלִּים מַעוֹן תָּנִים and וְשָׂרָקָה, the former of which is doubtless derived from ix 10. *V.* 38 in the MT is an hexameter, whilst the rest of this oracle is in Qinah, but the LXX has the regular form, omitting יִשְׂאֲנֻ. In *v.* 39 they seem to have read יַעֲלֻמוּ for the inappropriate יַעֲלֻמוּ:—

וּנְקַמְתִּי אֶת־נִקְמַתְךָ	הִנְנִי רֵב אֶת־רִיבְךָ	36.
וְהוֹבִשְׁתִּי אֶת־מְקוֹרָהּ	וְהִחַרְמְתִּי אֶת־יָמָהּ	
מֵאֵין יֹשֵׁב	וְהִתָּה בָּבֶל לְשָׂמָה	37.
כְּנוֹרֵי אֲרִיּוֹת	יִחַדּוּ כַכְּפִידִים נִעְרוּ	38.
וְהִשְׁכַּרְתִּים לְמַעַן־יַעֲלֻמוּ	בַּחֲמָם אִשִּׁית אֶת־מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם	39.
וְלֹא יִקְצֻ	וְיִשְׁנוּ שָׁנַת עוֹלָם	

V. 40 again is an isolated scrap from an oracle in Qinah:—

כְּאִילִים עַם־עֲתוּדִים	אֲוִידִים כְּכָרִים לְמַבּוֹחַ	40.
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V. 41 gives a different form of the opening couplet of the dirge found in l. 23 ff. The LXX rightly omitted שִׁשֶּׁךְ, an obvious 'אתבש' cipher for בָּבֶל:—

תִּהְלַת כְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ	אֵיךְ נִלְכְּדָה וְתִתְפָּשׁ	41.
בָּבֶל בְּנוִים	אֵיךְ הִתָּה לְשָׂמָה	

Vs. 42–44 are from a hexameter poem. In two cases the reading of the LXX fails to correspond with the prevailing rhythm, a circumstance worth noting from its comparative rarity in this book. In *v.* 43 they omitted לְשָׂמָה, and in *v.* 44 for עֲלִיבֶל בְּבָבֶל they read עֲלִיבָבֶל. But they seem to have the right text in their omission of the second אֶרֶץ in *v.* 43, in reading בָּהּ for בָּהֶן in the same verse, and the omission of נִפְלָה at the end of *v.* 44. Thus the text probably ran:—

בְּהַמּוֹן נָלִיו נִכְסָתָהּ	עָלָה עֲלִיבָבֶל הֵימָּן	42.
אֶרֶץ צִיָּה וְעִרְבָהּ	הָיוּ עֲרִיו לְשָׂמָה	43.
וְלֹא יַעֲבִרְבָּהּ בְּיָדָם	לֹא־יֵשֵׁב בָּהּ כָּל־אִישׁ	
וְהוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־בָּלְעוּ מִפִּי	וּפָקַרְתִּי עֲלִיבֶל בְּבָבֶל	44.
...	וְלֹא־יִהְיוּ אֵלָיו עוֹד־נִימִים	

Vs. 45–48 form an oracle, probably worked over or corrupted in course of tradition, which found its way into the text of this book after the translation into Greek had been made. The Peshitta, however, may afford some help, as some of the alterations seem to have been even later than the translation of that version. The only serious difficulty is to be found in *v.* 46, where the repetition of rumours and

years—here there are considerable divergences in the Peshitta—has the air of being a later gloss, and may be omitted. For the rest, the text (unless it be read as prose, which is not impossible) may have run :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| ומלמי איש את-נפשו | 45. צאו מתוכה עמי |
| מחרון אף יהוה | |
| הנשמעת בארץ | 46. פגירך לבבכם |
| וקם משל על-משל | ובא חמם בארץ |
| | לכן 47. |
| ופקדתי על-פסילי בבל | הנה ימים באים |
| וכל-חלליה יפלו בתוכה | וכל ארצה תבוש |
| וכל-אשר בהם | 48. ורגנו על-בבל |
| שמים וארץ | |
| כי-מצפון יבארלה השודדים | |

In *vs.* 49–51 we have a curious and instructive case of conflation. There are clearly two oracles, or portions of oracles, the line of division appearing in the middle of *v.* 50. The first is in tetrameters, and describes the ruin which awaits Israel if she remains in Babylon. The second exhorts her people to remember their own city and the desolation which has fallen upon her. This is in hexameters, and the two follow so well in thought that the only test for the division lies in the metre. It is, of course, possible that we have here a genuine case of mixed metre, but instances of this phenomenon are infrequent, while the conflate oracle is fairly common. The LXX omitted the first part of *v.* 49, probably through homoiosis, though elsewhere their text is preferable :—

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| חללי ישראל | 49. גמ-בבל לגמל |
| חללי בל-הארץ | גמ-בבל יפלו |
| הלכו ואל-תעמדו | 50 a. פליטים מחרב |

The second oracle calls the exiles to return in heart to their God. Variations from the MT are again due to the LXX :

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| יירושלם חעלה על-לבבכם | 50 b. וזכרו מרחוק את-יהוה |
| כסתה כלמה פנינו | 51. בשנו כרשמענו חרפתנו |
| אל-בית יהוה | באו זרים אל מקדשינו |

Vs. 52, 53 are best regarded as prose.

Vs. 54 and 55 are taken from an oracle in hexameter rhythm, and, omitting words not represented in the LXX, they run as follows :—

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| מארץ כשרים | 54. קול |
| ואבר ממנה קול-גדול | ועקה מבבל |
| נתן שאח קולם | 55. כרשוד יהוה את-בבל |
| | והמו כמים רבים |

V. 56 was probably originally in Qinah, but now shows no metrical regularity. V. 57 is, as the earlier form preserved in the LXX testifies, a prose verse, but has received accretions which give it a certain similarity to v. 39. V. 58 is composite, the second part being also found in Hab. ii 13, where the rhythm is hexameter, the first being in Qinah:—

ערער תתערער
באש יצחו

58 a. חומת בבל הרחבה
ושעריה הנבחים

The character and import of the remaining verses of the chapter have been the subject of no little discussion, but they do not concern us here. Even if in any sense Jeremianic, they belong to the biographical type of passage, not to the oracular. In the preceding pages the aim has been solely to illustrate the view that in parts, at any rate, of the prophetic books, so far from having a connected discourse, we have only a collection of short pieces, sometimes mere fragments of longer utterances. It is noticeable that the appearance of 'scrappiness' increases towards the end of the section, which is just what might be expected from the conditions.

No attempt has been made to produce a really emended text above. Such alterations as have been admitted have the authority of the LXX, and are practically confined to the omission and insertion of words. It is noteworthy that in the great majority of cases where the MT and the LXX differ in this respect, the latter will be found to give a regular and consistent rhythm within the individual oracle. This is true of the greater part of the book of Jeremiah, and serves as a striking confirmation, not only of the superiority of the text underlying the Greek, but also to the general principle of the existence of metre in the prophetic oracle. The 'Metriker' has made a very real contribution to the study of the Old Testament. Whilst his work is still incomplete, and only a few general outlines can be said to have the approval of the majority of scholars, he has already achieved important results. A glance at such books as *The International Critical Commentary* will show that the value of rhythmical principles for textual reconstruction is widely recognized. One result of the study in the Book of Jeremiah is to place the superiority of the LXX text over that of the Massorettes on a firm and unassailable basis. But we are now able to go farther. The recognition of metrical arrangement has played no mean part in the Higher Criticism of the Prophetic books. It has taken us back behind our present texts to the kind of material from which those texts were constructed. It has revealed to us a mass of anonymous floating oracular matter, collected, redacted, and in some measure systematized, by later editors. That large portions of our prophetic books were the

work of the individuals to whom they are commonly attributed need not be questioned. But over and above these there remain great quantities of fragments, scraps, and snatches, often welded together or adapted to suit different occasions and contexts. These can be separated and distinguished, their interrelations elucidated, and their primitive character approximately determined. It is no longer possible to ask whether Jeremiah quotes from Obadiah or Obadiah from Jeremiah, whether a passage is 'original' in Micah or in Isaiah. There are certainly cases where it may be said with some degree of assurance that one prophet was acquainted with the work of his predecessors—there can be little doubt that some of the prophecies of Ezekiel were consciously based on Jeremianic oracles—but in others the 'fragment hypothesis' is the only one which prepares the way for sound exegesis. And sound exegesis is the aim and the justification of all true criticism.

THEODORE H. ROBINSON.

'MYTHS AND GENEALOGIES'—A NOTE ON THE POLEMIC OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

WHILE studying recently the usages and terminology of the grammatical schools of Greece and Rome, I came across phrases which reminded me of some vexed passages in the Pastoral Epistles. Whether these resemblances are merely coincidences, or whether they have a real bearing on the interpretation of the epistles, I do not feel sure. But I think the latter alternative is at any rate sufficiently probable to deserve discussion.

It is perhaps needless, but I should like to remind the reader that in considering the possible bearing of school terms on such works as the epistles, we must cast aside much of the associations which the word 'school' has for us. We must remember that what was taught in schools had a far closer relation to the life of the adult population than our school work has to ours. Of the two great staples of education, 'grammatic' and rhetoric, if rhetoric stands first in this respect, 'grammatic' is a good second. The *grammaticus* was a power in the land well paid and generally respected. If he could not draw big congregations like the *rhetor* yet his lore appealed to a large public. It was, as Quintilian says, 'necessaria pueris, iucunda senibus, dulcis secretorum comes'.

Again, I hope I shall not be uselessly reiterating the well known, if I point out that in these highly organized 'grammatical' schools, the teaching of literature, especially poetry, was an important, indeed for

a long period, the main factor, and that in this teaching the *ἐξήγησις ιστοριῶν*, that is the elucidation of allusions, and the accumulation of knowledge real and supposed as to the personages and things mentioned in the poems, was a very important element. Indeed there were schools in which little else was done in the way of literary teaching. Sextus Empiricus tells us that these *historiae* are divided into (1) legendary matter, (2) fictitious but possible matter, (3) what was really historical, and that the first of these were called *μῦθοι*.¹ But we also find another classification, which divides them, according as they dealt with (1) persons, (2) places, (3) dates, (4) events. In this classification the personal are called *γενεαλογικά*.² It follows from this that *γενεαλογία* bears a much wider sense than our 'genealogy' and carries the idea of personal and biographical detail. And a further inference may fairly be made. As poetry, especially Homer, largely dealt with mythology, and as personal details are much more attractive than questions of geography or chronology, all the more interesting 'histories' were from one point of view 'myths', from another 'genealogies'. And as a matter of fact most of the typical instances quoted by Juvenal, Aulus Gellius, and others will come under these heads.

That *γενεαλογία* in 1 Tim. i 4 and Titus iii 9 means more than pedigree is not a new suggestion to students of the epistles. It is inferred by Hort from evidence which he gives in his 'Judaistic Christianity' pp. 135, 136. The further point, which the facts I have mentioned suggest, is that 'myths' and 'genealogies' were accepted and leading terms in the technical talk or jargon of a large literary or dilettante public which made great account of such studies. And I may here add, that there was another public which despised them as frivolous and useless, in fact took much the same view as the writer³ of 1 Tim., who as Weiss and Hort point out, does not regard the interests he condemns as in themselves wicked or heretical, but as vain and empty and likely to divert the mind from higher things.

The evidence for the existence of these two publics may be verified sufficiently by any one who will read and look out the references in Mayor's note on Juvenal vii 234. I may give a few instances. Juvenal would rather not sit at a dinner-party next the lady 'quae sciat omnes

¹ The other two were called *πλάσματα* and *ιστορίαι* (in a limited sense). Cf. as late as the fourth century Ausonius *Prof.* 21. 25:

Ambo omnia carmina docti
callentes mython plasmata et historias.

² Τὸ δὲ παρὸν ποίημα καλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί, συγκείμενον ἐκ τοπικοῦ καὶ πραγματικοῦ καὶ χρονικοῦ καὶ γενεαλογικοῦ, εἰς ἃ διαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν φασίν. *Int. to Dionysius Perieghesis* p. 81 Bernh. v. Usener *Kleine Schriften* ii p. 286.

³ When I use throughout the word *writer*, I must not be understood as implying any view, one way or the other, as to the Pauline authorship.

historias'. Aulus Gellius had a friend who had a huge note-book full of such questions as the names of the followers of Odysseus who were torn by Scylla. Tiberius, who carried this 'notitia historiae fabularis usque ad ineptias et derisum', would test the *grammatici* who were great favourites of his by such questions as 'Who was Hecuba's mother?' and 'What was Achilles's name when he was dressed as a girl?' Augustine (*De Ord.* ii 12, 37) speaking of these 'histories' remarks that he pitied his friends, who, if they could not answer the question, 'Who was Euryalus's mother?', were dubbed ignoramuses ('*accusantur inscitiae*'). He adds that the ignoramuses themselves regard their interrogators as triflers and refuse them the name of scholars ('*curiosi*'). Of Didymus, the most famous collector of such points, Seneca says that his books are full of '*quae dediscenda erant, si scires*.' Quintilian,¹ who recognized its value to some extent, strongly deprecates excessive attention to such research, for '*inanis iactantiae est* (cf. *κενοφωνία* 1 Tim. vi 20) *et detinet atque obruit ingenia melius aliis vacatura*'. He adds that the pursuit of it involves devoting the student's efforts '*anilibus fabulis*', an exact equivalent of course of *μύθους γραῶδεις* (1 Tim. iv 7). And here we may note that such problems are regularly known as *quaestiones*, or in Greek *ζητήματα* or *ζητήσεις*, a word which also appears in this connexion in the epistles, while any one who made a trade or business of such matters was said *profiteri* or in Greek *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι*, and we are thus reminded of the *γῥῶσις ἣν τινες ἐπαγγελλόμενοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡστόχησαν* (*id.* vi 21).

The hypothesis then, which I propose for discussion, is that the polemic of the pastoral is directed against an intellectualism, which largely consisted in a research similar to that described above, which in the writer's opinion was in itself frivolous and useless and in practice led to strife and irreligion. If this were so, the question would arise—Was the culture, learning, intellectualism, or whatever we choose to call it, pagan, Jewish, or a mixture of the two? Now if we could isolate the First Epistle to Timothy from the other two, I should be inclined to say pagan. The word *βέβηλος* is in favour of it. And I do not think the fact that we find attached another *ματαιολογία* which is connected with law militates seriously against it. For if the 'myths and genealogies' appealed to a wide public, still wider was the public who delighted in the '*controversiae*', such as we find described by the elder Seneca, in which the competing rhetoricians regularly argued on some point of law, or at any rate took some assumed law for their basis. The only evidence against it in this epistle is the passage iv 9, in which the *ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίαι* are stated to lead up (amongst other things) to the '*wranglings of men who think that religion is a trade*'. I think the natural meaning of this is that the professors of the condemned intellec-

¹ *Inst.* i 8.

tualism claimed to be following a religious study, but it is hardly decisive. But in Titus i 16 the myths are definitely called Jewish. This can hardly be surmounted, except by supposing that 'Titus' is by the hand of another who has imperfectly understood the work of his predecessor. But I do not wish to adopt so heroic a course, and indeed my hypothesis will stand as well or better if we adopt the view that the culture attached, though Hellenic in spirit, made use of Jewish materials.

It is, I think, *a priori* probable that there were circles of Hellenized Jews, where the Old Testament was treated in the same spirit as that in which the devotees of 'historical' research treated Homer. We must remember that, while this kind of research went a great deal further than Homer, it was the love of Homer which gave it its primary impulse, and that Homer always stood first with it. Homer, it is clear, was treated in two different ways. To the philosophically-minded he was sometimes in his literal sense the fount of ethical lessons, and to be read, as the Articles tell us we should read the Apocrypha, for 'example of life and instruction of manners',¹ sometimes a mine of philosophical allegory. On the other hand, to the devotees of 'grammar' he was a field of romantic interest and for the amassment of legendary lore. We are often told that Homer was the Bible of the Greeks. May we not invert the statement and say that the Pentateuch was the Homer of the Hellenized Jew? Of an allegorical and philosophical treatment of the Old Testament, consciously and deliberately based on the philosophical treatment of Homer, we have abundant evidence in the shadowy Aristobulus and the very substantial Philo. This form of Helleno-Judaic culture has been preserved to us by its affinities to Christianity. If there was another form which consciously and deliberately imitated the 'grammatical' method, it has not been preserved; but that is not surprising, since it could only repel the Christian mind. For it may be added that such a method of treating the Old Testament lore would naturally lead to some contamination with real pagan mythology, much in the spirit of Cleodemus or Malchus, the Jewish historian, who according to Josephus² stated that Abraham's grand-daughter became the wife of Heracles.

As for the other branch of the *γνώσις*, the *ἔρεις νομικαί* which are evidently associated with the 'myths and genealogies' in 1 Tim. and still more closely in the other epistles, there is nothing in the words

¹ Cf. Hor. *Ep.* i 2. 1-4:

Troiani belli scriptorem . . .
qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

² *Ant.* i 15.

employed which suggests more than the ordinary disputations of Jewish legal theologians. Still it is reasonable to suppose that the writer discerned the same tone in both the objects of his censure. And if we suppose that there was something Hellenic in the one, we may conjecture it in the other. We may conjecture a school or schools of legalists who gave a philosophical cast to their discussions, perhaps after the manner of 4 Maccabees, prided themselves on their dialectical skill, and in general regarded themselves as the counterpart of the acknowledged philosophers.

My view of the matter does not perhaps differ in substance from that of Dr Hort, who regards the writer as speaking of the frivolities of the Haggada on the one hand, and the Halacha on the other. But it puts it in a different atmosphere and colouring. The writer in fact is not combating a Pharisaic Judaism, but a somewhat conceited pseudo-Hellenic Judaism. And I venture to think that on one point at least my view meets the facts better than Dr Hort's. For when Dr Hort suggests that the writer attacks the frivolities of the Haggada, he overlooks the fact that the writer of 2 Tim. is apparently a Haggadist himself. At any rate he gives us the most obvious piece of Haggada in the New Testament—the mention of Jannes and Jambres. It seems strange that one who saw such danger in Haggadic legend should write thus. But it is quite intelligible that one who cherished Haggadic lore should strongly object to seeing it treated as on a par with heathen myths and perhaps mixed up with such myths.¹

There are a few special points which are worth considering in the light of my hypothesis. The first is the much discussed 'antitheses'. While on the whole I am inclined to adopt a very simple interpretation, there is another possible, which would bring it into line with the 'myths and genealogies'. Next to research into 'histories', the favourite line of study with *grammatici* and their followers was to investigate the 'tropes' and 'figures' in their texts. Now, though 'antithesis' in rhetoric has other senses, its common use is for the 'figure' which we, as they, call antithesis, i.e. two contrasted or compared statements, put for effect in a carefully balanced form. If a Jewish student treated his Septuagint as a Greek student treated his classics, he would no doubt regard the psalms and prophets as a form of oratory, for the absence of metre would hide from him their poetic character. And there can be no doubt as to what 'figure' would strike him as most prominent. It is the doublet which is so characteristic of Hebrew poetry, such as 'What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?' Now what would a grammarian or rhetorician call this

¹ Indeed such a feeling may perhaps lie behind the phrase 'Ιουδαιοῖς μύθοις. 'You apply the term *μῦθοι* with all its evil associations to our venerable traditions.'

'figure' which is entirely foreign to Greek literature? It is not the same as the various forms of repetition, which the rhetoricians found in the poets and orators and named accordingly. It has something of the character of 'tautology', but tautology was a vice. I think they would regard it as a form of antithesis,¹ for though such doublets lack the sense of contrast, which is generally present in the classical antithesis, they are antithetical in form. If we adopted this explanation, we should not need to suppose that the writer of the epistle understood or cared to understand the term. It would be enough to suppose that he heard the term bandied about and branded it as a piece of jargon, characteristic of a lore which seemed to him both frivolous and mischievous.

If on the whole I reject this (to me) tempting explanation it is not because it seems to me in itself improbable, but because the word will admit of one much more simple. Another rhetorical use of the word is for the answers and objections alleged by the opponent. Thus though an 'antithesis' is not quite the same as a disputation, it is a necessary part of one, and here, too, I should regard our writer as quoting with some scorn and impatience a word which figured largely in the discussions which he deprecates. If this is the meaning, it probably applies primarily, though not necessarily altogether, to the legal and dialectical side of the *γνώσις*.

The verse 1 Tim. vi 5 *διαπαραιταὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων . . . νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν* seems to me to point to a paid body of teachers, and if so, we note that the main characteristics ascribed to these teachers are (1) quarrelsomeness, (2) a desire to make money. This falls into line well enough with my suggestion, for these two charges are frequently brought against Greek and Roman sophists in the wider sense of the word. They may be found often in Lucian, e.g. in the *Symposium*. It may perhaps be said that there was a strong body of opinion in the ancient world from the time of Socrates downward, which never quite reconciled itself to the idea of a teacher of 'wisdom' taking fees. When I say that this falls into line I do not imply anything more. Any atmosphere of debate may engender or seem to engender strife, and I have no reason to suppose that teachers of purely Jewish Halacha did not take fees. Most people who teach anything systematically have to live by it.

Perhaps a little more may be said of the verse 1 Tim. iv 8 *ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος*. This is sometimes taken of bodily discipline or self-denial, but the natural meaning is training in the palaestra. And the words will gain force, if we suppose the writer to have in view some form of Hellenic culture, which always included such training. Quintilian² holds that the palaestra is a valuable element

¹ This would be in technical language *ὡς ἀντιθέσεις*, 'quasi contra-positiones'.

² *Inst.* i 11.

in the education of the rhetorical student, as giving him grace of movement.

As I have throughout called my suggestion an hypothesis, I am free to admit that the chief objection against it—and Dr Hort's—is that there are some phrases in 2 Tim. and Titus which seem to me to indicate a propaganda more positively erroneous and mischievous. I would cite especially 2 Tim iii 6, 7, *id.* iv 4, and Titus i 11. It is true that we must not confound the writer's apprehensions as to the future with his censures of the present, and that when he speaks of the present he need not always be speaking of the same thing. But on the whole I cannot rule out the possibility that he refers to some form of incipient gnosticism. But this lies outside my special knowledge, and I accept provisionally Hort and Weiss's view that he refers to 'barren and mischievous trivialities usurping the place of religion', a view which seems to me to fit 1 Tim. completely and most of 2 Tim. and Titus. If this view is accepted, I venture to think that my form of it suits all the facts as well as Dr Hort's, and some of them better.

This paper is perhaps in some sense a 'Tendenz-Schrift' in so far as I might have hesitated to bring forward so speculative a matter, but that I wish to point a moral, which I have pointed in earlier papers in this JOURNAL. We all recognize that the Church grew up in a world of 'Greeks who sought after wisdom'. But I hold that we are far too apt to restrict this σοφία to philosophy, whereas it covers all the intellectual life of the Greek world¹ and thus includes the two great studies of literature and rhetoric. If the two words of my heading had been shewn to be leading catchwords of the philosophical schools, their possible connexion with these schools would long ago have received full consideration. If they had been catchwords of the mysteries, they would of late years have received the same consideration. If, as I think is clear, they were catchwords of a widely favoured form of learning, their possible connexion with it deserves to be considered, even if it is not to be finally accepted.

F. H. COLSON.

¹ This appears clearly in e.g. Tatian *Or. ad Graec.* §§ 1 and 2.

IGNATIUS AD ROMANOS TITULUS.

Ἰγνάτιος . . . τῇ ἡλεημένη . . . ἡγαπημένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη . . . ἥτις καὶ προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων . . .

These famous words have been so much discussed that a mere recital of opinions would take up many pages. In this paper it is proposed to quote a few of the most recent and representative pronouncements, to detail a proof that the vulgate reading of the text is indefensible, and to suggest a correction.

I hold Casaubon's words to be justified, who said that 'those who wish to draw inferences from the words *rogandi sunt ut barbaram lectionem prius nobis explicent*'.¹ He objected to Bellarmine's inferences, but his protest cuts more ways than he meant. If the words are corrupt they cannot be used in favour of a maximist view of either episcopal or papal authority; but neither is it right to leave an important witness unintelligible in order that the minimalist argument may benefit by his silence. Let Ignatius's voice first be critically recovered, and it will then be time enough to consider the tendency of what he says.

And now to begin with the opinions of the two most recent authors who have expounded Ignatius:—

Batifol² says:

On croit trouver un indice plus sûr de cette prééminence de Rome dans le fait qu' 'elle préside dans le lieu de la région des Romains'.

M. Funk ne fait pas difficulté de reconnaître que dire ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων pour dire 'à Rome' est une singularité: le style d'Ignace, par ailleurs, n'est-il pas encombré d'affectations semblables? Si donc Ignace a voulu dire simplement 'à Rome', le verbe προκάθηται se construira absolument: l'église préside, et elle préside à Rome.

de Genouillac³:

Il n'y a pas non plus à faire grand état d'une expression grammaticalement fort peu correcte par laquelle l'église de Rome est dite présider ἐν τ. χ. 'P.'; on peut y voir la campagne romaine; plus probablement, ce lourd pléonasme trahit le vague de l'idée que se faisait de loin l'évêque d'Antioche au sujet de la grande ville qui avait donné son nom au plus puissant peuple de l'univers.

¹ Ap. Zahn *Ign. v. Antioch* p. 308.

² *L'Eglise naissante et le Catholicisme* 5th ed. Paris 1911, p. 168.

³ *L'Eglise chrétienne au temps de S. Ignace d'Antioche* Paris 1907, p. 138; *ib.* p. 236.

And again :

Il faut admettre d'une part que χωρίον ne signifie pas l'empire et n'ajoute ici rien à l'idée, de l'autre que ἐν τόπῳ ne limite pas l'autorité mais indique le lieu de son siège.

These explanations are not satisfactory. Are we seriously asked to imagine that Ignatius did not know that Rome was a town? Was he so illiterate as to picture the Romans living κατὰ κόμας in the Campagna? Ignatius in the rôle of Tityrus, and even more rustic than he, is an absurdity. And is not to say that χωρίον 'adds nothing to the idea' tantamount to saying that the word is unmeaning?

But where a word or words are proved and admitted to be unmeaning the function of criticism is either to emend or to obelize: not to say, as Funk says, (p. 212) *interpretatio mediocris magis mihi placet quam mutatio textus speciosissima*. These are the words of dogged unreason. What is this but to decree the copyists' infallibility? *Mediocris interpretatio!* Ignatius need not be credited with having written sense as long as it be not pure and arrant nonsense. Such a doctrine, gravely parroted as it has been for the last half century, is the abdication of criticism. On this principle texts may be edited by office-boys.

How then is the problem to be attacked? I select χωρίον as the *faible* of the phrase, and first write the phrase without it :

ἦτις καὶ προκαθῆται ἐν τόπῳ . . . Ῥωμαίων. Now προκαθῆσθαι usually has a gen. case defining the sphere of 'presidency': e.g. Ign. *ad Magn.* vi 1 (p. 194) the bishop is προκαθήμενος καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων . . . καὶ τῶν διακόνων. This was admitted as long ago as Voss (*Zahn op. cit.* p. 309); but it seems that Meibom was the only scholar who saw that we have such a genitive here in the word Ῥωμαίων. Such an expression will be quite analogous to προκαθεζομένη τῆς ἐφ' ἧς πόλιν &c. (quoted by Funk). There is no difficulty in describing the Church of Rome as 'presiding over the Romans'—provided that ἐν τόπῳ can be accommodated in connexion with the (hypothetically) lost word.

Upon this lost word two lines of probability must converge: (1) the palaeographical, and (2) the logical, according to the sense of the context and the practice of the author or the language. In order to this, I subjoin an exhaustive examination of the usage of τόπος in the *Patres Apostolici*,¹ which while evincing the impossibility of ἐν τόπῳ χωρίον will in probability indicate what kind of word the phrase desiderates.

1. In general: *place, locality*.

ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ *Martyr. Polyc.* xix p. 302. οὐ πανταχοῦ . . . ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μόνῃ κακεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τ. 1 *Clem. ad Cor.* xli p. 112.

¹ For convenience, the reference is given by the paging of Funk's edition (*Tubingae* 1878).

ἦν δ' ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπερρωγός . . . *Past.* p. 336. ἀποφέρει εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ὅπου καὶ πέρυσι 344. ἐλθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν τ. *ιβ*. ἐξελεξάμεν τ. καλὸν ἀνακεχωρηκότα πρὶν δὲ . . . εἰπεῖν τὸν τ. *ιβ*. ἐγενόμην εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν . . . καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τ. *ιβ*. ἰδὼν μηδένα ὄντα ἐν τῷ τ. *ιβ*. ὁ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τ. ἄλλων ἐστίν 354. ἐτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἀρμόσουσιν 366. σπανίως δὲ ὁδεύεται ὁ τ. 378. καὶ οὐκ εἶδον ποίῳ τ. ἀπῆλθεν 384. τρυφῶντα ἐν τ. ἐνί 466. ἐν τ. ἐνί βοσκομένα 468. εἰς τινα τ. κρημνώδη *ιβ*. ἦλθομεν εἰς τὸν τ. 486. εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τ. ὅθεν ἡνέχθησαν 506. ἡρμένων καὶ εἰς τ. ἴδιον ἀποτεθειμένων 508. ἦλθομεν εἰς τὸν τ. οὐ κεκαθίκαμεν *ιβ*. And amongst the rest two may be singled out in which the word is used for a local determination of the Church, a church in the narrower sense : μακαρίσας τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τ. τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀγάπην *Martyr. Ign.* v p. 260. πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τ. τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίας *Martyr. Polyc. tit.* p. 282.

2. τόπος = *room, a sufficient place, an assigned place.*

οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν τ. ἀλλ' ἐσονται ἐκβολοὶ p. 362. ἐπηρώτησα . . . εἰ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μετάνοια καὶ ἔχουσιν τ. εἰς τὸν πύργον τοῦτον 366. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὸν πύργον . . . οὐχ ἔξετε τ. 370. μὴ ἔχον τὸν τ. καθαρὸν, καὶ ζητεῖ ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τ. πνίγεται γὰρ . . . μὴ ἔχον τ. 400. μὴ ἔχων τ. ποῦ εἰσέλθῃ . . . Ἔρχεται οὖν . . . καὶ ἔχων τ. εἰσπορεύεται . . . 436. ἵνα καὶ ἡ σὰρξ . . . σχῇ τ. 462. πῶς δύνανται τὸν αὐτὸν τ. πληρῶσαι ; 512. εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τ. 522. ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν 548 ; and, metaphorically, τόπος = *coria, potestas* : μετανοίας τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δεσπότης *I Clem. ad Cor.* vii p. 70.

3. Certain special senses :—

(i) τόπος = *heaven, a place in heaven.*

οὐκ εὐλαβούνται μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστροφή ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τ. *I Clem. ad Cor.* xlii p. 116. πόθεν ἐκλήθημεν καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος καὶ εἰς ὃν τ. *2 Clem. ad Cor.* i p. 144. μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τ. τῆς δόξης *I Clem. ad Cor.* v p. 68. εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τ. ἐπορεύθη *ιβ*. εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τ. εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ *Polyc. ad Phil.* ix p. 276. ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τ. σπεύσῃ . . . *Epist. Barn.* xix p. 52. Uniquely χώρος stands for τόπος in a similar phrase *I Clem. ad Cor.* l p. 124.

(ii) τόπος = *a place or passage in a book.*

ἐν ἐτέρῳ τ. λέγει οὕτως *I Clem. ad Cor.* viii p. 72 ; *ιβ*. xxix 96. πάντα τ. ἐψηλαφήσαμεν ὑπομνησκόντες *ιβ*. lxii p. 140.

(iii) τόπος = *dignitas, place in a hierarchy.*

τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδία λειτουργίαι δεδομέναί εἰσιν καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τ. προστέτακται . . . *I Clem. ad Cor.* xl 110. τ. μηδένα φυσιοῦτω *Ign. ad Smyrn.* vi p. 238. ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τ. ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ . . . *Ign. ad*

Polyc. i p. 246. . . . Οὐάλεντος, ὃς πρεσβύτερός ποτε ἐγένετο ἐν ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὕτως ἀγνοεῖ τὸν δοθέντα αὐτῷ τ. *Polyc. ad Phil.* xi 1 p. 278.

Out of this classification I reserve the following passages as having special importance because in them *τόπος* is combined with a genitive of definition:—

4. (a) εἰς τινα τόπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἀναχωρήσας *Past.* p. 344. ἡρώτησα οὖν εἰς ποῖον τ. τοῦ ἀγροῦ *ib.* p. 352.

(I mention here *Past.* p. 518 ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος ἱλαρὸς καὶ εὐπρεπέστατος τοῦ πύργου. But here the gen. is apparently partitive and therefore it does not really belong to this category.)

If *τόπος τοῦ ἀγροῦ* means 'part of the field', there is, so far, nothing to prevent *τόπος χωρίου* having a local sense. What will that sense be? The answer depends on the meaning of *χωρίον*, of which word we have two examples:

ἐκείνον μὲν εἶρον ἐν τινι δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ὑπερώψῃ· κἀκείθεν ἡδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν *Martyr. Pol.* p. 288. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς πεφύτευται *Epist. ad Diogn.* p. 330. (The context shews that *χωρίον* = *παράδεισος*.)

τόπος χωρίου then, so far as this body of Greek attests, could only mean 'the part or region of the estate' (garden plot, holding): which here is evidently inept. And, in fine, whatever spatial sense be given to *χωρίου*, ἐν τόπῳ *will restrict that sense*. Consequently the suspicion against *χωρίου* is confirmed.

(b) In its metaphorical sense *the room or place of a person, as his substitute or representative*.

προκαθήμενου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου (εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ) καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων (εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων) καὶ τῶν διακόνων . . . &c. *Ign. ad Magn.* vi p. 194. ἐκάθισεν εἰς τὸν τ.¹ τοῦ ἀγγέλου *Past.* 486. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν πάντας . . . μετενεχθῆναι . . . καὶ ἐτέρους . . . ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τ. αὐτῶν 510 (*bis*). ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὸν τ. τῶν ἡρμένων *ib.*

(I neglect the passage εἰς δούλου τρόπον (*al.* τόπον) οὐ κείται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Past.* p. 460), since *τόπον* is a variant which, even if admitted to the text, would add nothing to the weight of the instances already cited.)

Hic aut nusquam est quod quaerimus!

Here at length we come to something apposite. The sentence from *ad Magn.* (supported by the *Pastor* passages) is cast on the very same model as ours—

προκαθήμενου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ . . . τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
προκάθεται ἐν τόπῳ . . . Ῥωμαίων

(for the equation εἰς τ. = ἐν τ. makes no difficulty).

¹ Cf. p. 552, where ἀντί = the εἰς τὸν τ. of this passage.

The missing word must be the name of the person *in whose place, as whose representative, authority is exercised*. Meibom saw the logical requirement of the phrase when he conjectured *κυρίου*; but *κυρίου* is not palaeographically very probable. Combine the palaeographical test with this, and can you doubt that the word which Ignatius wrote, and one copyist mistook for *χωρίου*, another¹ for *χοροῦ*, was none other than *χρὸν* = *Χριστοῦ*?

προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ Χριστοῦ merely describes the episcopal office of the Roman Church. It neither exceeds nor contradicts the language which Ignatius uses in the other places, e.g. *οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμη εἰσὶν* *ad Ephes.* ii: (p. 176). *ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐστίν* ὡς περ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ὁ Χριστός *Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* *ad Smyrn.* viii (p. 240); and in particular *ad Magn.* vi (p. 194) *προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ*.

The Church addressed 'has its seat of authority' over the Romans, i.e. besides its other distinctions (*καὶ*) it is the Church of Rome. The proposed emendation restores the words to Greek and common sense; but neither abates nor advances any claim to Primacy which may be preferred on the strength of this *titulus* as a whole. Such claim rests (1) on the *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης*, and (2) on the difference in scale and tone between this and any of the other salutations. That is no present concern of mine; nor do I even presume to inquire whether *Ῥωμαίων* means *Urbis Romanae* or *Orbis Romani*. I merely offer to ecclesiastical historians what looks like Ignatius's real statement.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

¹ The original of the old Latin version.

RUTH iii 13 b.

AN EXPLANATION OF B'S INSERTED WORDS.

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται ἀγχιστεύσαι σε, ἀγχιστεύσω σε ἐγώ, ζῇ Κύριος, σὺ εἰ
Κύριος· κοιμήθητι ἕως πρωῒ.

σὺ εἰ Κύριος is peculiar to B. Hatch and Redpath are in error in giving AB.

In the MS G. 1 (Trinity College Library, Cambridge) the two lines containing Ps. xiv 6 appear as:—

צדיק: עצת עני תבישו כי אתה

יהוה מחסהו: מי יתן מציון ע

—I do not reproduce the vowel-points and accents; but it is to be noted that אֶתְּךָ is pointed but unaccented, while the preceding word is accented יְךָ. The ך is added small, as shewn, but I think is by the original hand. In the second line may be seen a 'fill-up' commonly found in G. 1, here before a following י.

The text of B in Ruth iii 13 and the text of G. 1 in Ps. xiv 6 unite in representing a tradition, that, where a 'fill-up' is needed before the Holy Name, אֵת (so undoubtedly in the Codex copied by G. 1—i. e. אֶת) must be used.

In Ruth iii 13 G. 1 shews חִי at the end of the line, with a space preceding, thus—

אֲנִי חִי

—B's ζῇ Κύριος, σὺ εἰ Κύριος is due to a conflation of two Hebrew readings, viz. :—

אֲנִי חִי

and

אֲנִי חִי אֵת

H. W. SHEPPARD.

REVIEWS

The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy: The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Aberdeen in the years 1912 and 1913. By A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON, LL.D., D.C.L. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1917.)

It is sad to think how much the quiet voice of this book may be drowned in the present turmoil, and what a very different welcome might have been accorded to it in the years when the lectures were delivered. Yet to the understanding mind its value is enhanced by the definite close in measureless destruction of the age of which it speaks, for it may be that no such account of its thought, written not as history but as experience, will ever again be written. The date to be borne in mind while reading is not the time of publication, 1917, but 1913, the year when the last lectures were delivered. Something of pathos and tenderness these lectures have gained in the revision during the sad years when the author himself had suffered grievous personal loss, but the subject remains what we may broadly call the religious philosophy of the nineteenth century, understanding by that term the period from the French Revolution to the present war. The first lecture is occupied with Hume, but that only serves to link the new age on to the thought of the eighteenth century. Kant also might be regarded as outside the period, but it is only in the merely chronological sense in which Rousseau is outside of it. Practically Kant's doctrine of what we should now call Ideal Values is the fruitful seed of the new time; and there is no more admirably lucid exposition of it in any language than the second lecture. The historian who looks back upon the age will, in all probability, measure by a different rule, and see things in a different perspective. The methods both of Naturalistic Agnosticism and of Transcendental Idealism will seem to him blind alleys, and he will dismiss them lightly, as Troeltsch already does, as dead issues; but this book is autobiography, not history, and therein lies its supreme interest. To one who was a pupil of Professor Pringle-Pattison in the days when he was beginning his career as a philosophical teacher, it all reads like the record of his own mind, which however much of it he may have outlived, he must never forget that he has lived through. And even for

a younger generation that has not lived through it, it must be a great gain to have this admirable record of one who has, a gain that never can be replaced even by the most balanced later estimate. Every new age is apt to be unfair to its predecessor—and even Dr Pringle-Pattison shews how much he belongs to the nineteenth century by his judgement of the eighteenth—and contempt and indifference is always a foolish failure to appreciate our true foundations. Already some superior twentieth century persons, like Mr Chesterton, dismiss the nineteenth century as an age in which nothing happened. Such superiority is never, in any case, a wise mental attitude, and, to those who wish to avoid it, no better account of the thought of the past age can be commended. Even those who have but a modest knowledge of the philosophical disciplines will find it pleasant reading. There is an admirable lucidity worthy of the countryman of Hume, with a literary ease and grace, rivalled among philosophical writers since Plato only by Berkeley. A fine mastery of that great instrument the common English speech saves the necessity of resorting to philosophical jargon, which is often a cover for poverty of thought as well as poverty of expression. Nor is the presence of much poetry an accident; nor is it, as is suggested in the Preface, merely characteristic of the author's personal interest. It belongs to the subject, which is really the Romantic Movement, and without it the inwardness of the feeling of the time could not be made plain. The predominance of Tennyson and the frequent quotations from what may be called the Rossetti school, with Wordsworth and Browning as greater but more distant luminaries, is exactly the proportion of that age, though it may no longer be of the present, and the picture would be defective in any other setting.

If one were disposed to enter upon criticism, it would be in respect of the newer movements. If there is any lack of understanding and sympathy, it is towards the Vitalists and Pluralists, and especially towards the latter. When Dr McTaggart is called the true Pluralist, there is surely some confusion between method and result. True Pluralism is a method of beginning and not a prophecy of the conclusion: and Dr McTaggart on that principle is not a Pluralist at all, but a Hegelian who puts the content of the cosmic reason into unbreakable vessels of individual souls. And, if there were any further criticism it would be that Prof. Pringle-Pattison has not adequately settled his own account with Hegelianism, and relies far more on mere 'organic unity' for solving problems like perception and the moral ideal, than his own view of the individual justifies. But the book is no less a true record of its period for these limitations.

J. OMAN.

The Holy Trinity: A Study of the Self-Revelation of God. By LOUIS GEORGE MYLNE, M.A., Hon. D.D. Oxon. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1916).

BISHOP MYLNE's work is a doctrinal study of a kind not very common in these days. He deliberately refrains from critical questions as to the authorship and value of the books of the New Testament, and he does not make any historical study of the preparations for the doctrine and of supposed resemblances to the doctrine in the Old Testament and in Greek Philosophy. Moreover, except very briefly in connexion with the heresies of Sabellius, Arius, and Macedonius, there is no account of the development of the doctrine within the Church. Thus the book is in no sense an attempt to do for English students what M. Lebreton has begun to do for his fellow-countrymen. Nevertheless there is solid, if not very original, thought, along with a spirit of deep devotion. Two points seem to me to deserve special recognition: Bishop Mylne is exceedingly careful to shew that the doctrine of the Trinity does not infringe the truth of the Unity of the Godhead, 'the primary tenet of elementary piety'; his readers will probably find themselves increasingly on their guard against any degradation of the doctrine into crude tritheism. And, secondly, he has done well to indicate the apologetic value of the Christian belief. The idea of eternal relations within God, however difficult for the intellect to comprehend, yet can make an appeal both to the intellect and to the heart beyond anything possible where God is viewed as the One outside of all relationship whatsoever, even though His personality be admitted. And what meaning, if this view be taken, can we ascribe to the divine personality, and how can we conceive of God's moral attributes as eternal facts and not merely potentialities? It seems paradoxical to admit with Lotze that perfect personality belongs to God alone and then to strip that personality of all relations.

J. K. MOZLEY.

The Belief in God and Immortality: a Psychological, Anthropological, and Statistical study. By JAMES H. LEUBA, Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy in Bryn Mawr College. (Sherman French & Co., Boston, 1916.)

THIS book, by a distinguished American Professor of psychology, is written in three parts. The first treats of the two conceptions of Immortality, the primitive and the modern. The third discusses the utility of the Beliefs in personal immortality and in a personal God, and decides that the former at least 'costs more than it is worth', and

that the denial of God 'is as likely as not to point to idealistic views of life'. The author's point of view is sufficiently indicated by his claim that the book cannot justly be regarded as destructive: on the contrary, it accomplishes 'a threefold good': to deliver man from a fear of punishment; to inspire him with confidence in the forces which urge him on; and to enrich him with information useful for his guidance.

The second part of the book is the most interesting. It consists of a statistical study of the belief in a personal God and in personal immortality in the United States. *Questionnaires*—a method of investigation far more common in the United States than in England—were answered by over 900 students in American colleges and by a large number of American scientists, concerning what they believe about God and about immortality. The answers are summarized and conclusions are drawn from them. One conclusion is that 'Christianity, as a system of belief, has utterly broken down, and nothing definite, adequate, and convincing has taken its place'. But as one reads through the answers one is more inclined to say that the writers have never understood Christianity as a system of doctrine, and that it is not Christianity, but the parodies of it which have broken down.

The method used seems hardly fair to American Christianity. The answers come from young men and women of 18 to 23 years old, in their first year in psychology and philosophy—a period of life when religious beliefs are neither mature nor stable. The questions were put before them without any warning or previous discussion when they entered the lecture-room and were answered before they left. It is significant that one student at least confesses that his opinions have undergone a change while he was writing. Only one answer shews any real acquaintance with Christian teaching, the writer (a woman) having evidently learned her Church Catechism to some purpose. Professor Leuba remarks that she 'gives evidence of having been properly drilled in the official beliefs and that she has not yet been shaken by the spirit of the age'. The complete absence of any grasp of the Christian view of the world and of life may be due to inadequate training, but it may also be due to the following statement which appeared at the head of the questions. 'We know well enough what people are supposed to believe, but we have little opportunity of finding out what they actually believe. Not what one should or would like to believe, but what one really believes is asked for in these questions'. With this hint that all thinking men have as a matter of course outgrown the beliefs of their childhood, Professor Leuba has got the kind of answer which he evidently desired.

In all these answers one is struck by the entire absence of any sense of personal unworthiness in the presence of God and of any feeling that

sin is a thing which cannot be lightly brushed aside. The writers are hardly aware that the problem of evil, both moral and physical, requires an answer; still less, that any religion which will explain life as a whole, must have some explanation to give of them. Consequently we hear nothing of the Cross. The scientists appear to limit the world of reality to what one can see and feel and measure scientifically. If there is a God, it is agreed by all, He cannot in answer to prayer move natural law from its course by a hair's breadth.

But we cannot think so ill of American Christianity as Professor Leuba would have us. The home of the Student Volunteer Movement, of Dr John Mott and Dr Robert Speer, must have more real religion in it than this.

The Rise of the Christian Religion: A study in origins. By CHARLES FREDERICK NOLLOTH, M.A., D.Litt. (Macmillan and Co., 1917.)

DR NOLLOTH has written an account of Christian origins upon a large scale; the Sources of the Gospels, the Preparation, the Ministry, the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, the history of the Apostolic Church and the doctrine of the Apostles, as well as special chapters on miracles, the two natures, the Birth and Childhood of Christ, and the condition of Judaism at the time indicate what a wide field he has attempted to cover. He has read very widely in German theology to which he makes copious references and advances some acute criticisms of it. If he does not agree with it, he is thoroughly familiar with it. His book might be described as a summary of the replies given by Catholic theologians to recent subversive theories of Christian origins; for it is marked by great learning and wide reading rather than by originality.

When so much ground is covered within the limits of a single book, the treatment of some difficult problems is necessarily somewhat sketchy, as for instance is the case with his treatment of the origin and development of the Ministry; and there will not be many who will see eye to eye with him on all points. His account of Judaism as the preparation for the coming of our Lord is open to criticism. To say that the Jews had a singular genius for religion, and that 'in a way unexampled before or since, the soul of the people was steeped in intense religious fervour' hardly seems to be supported by a study of the Moabite Stone and the Babylonian Penitential Psalms. The Babylonians shewed in every way as great a degree of religious fervour as the Hebrews.

Then again, he has not grasped the real problem or nature of the

Jewish monotheism. To say that in the pre-exilic prophets, 'He is no longer the God of Israel only, with rival deities outside the cult of the chosen people. He stands alone, the God of heaven and earth', is to confuse the issue. He remained the God of Israel only, and also in their minds stood alone as the God of heaven and earth. One has to grasp this apparent contradiction before one can begin to understand the prophetic monotheism. But this is perhaps the least satisfactory part of a book which shews great learning and has real merit.

HAROLD HAMILTON.

Sources of the Synoptic Gospels. By CARL S. PATTON (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915).

THIS book, which forms vol. v of the Humanistic Series of the University of Michigan Studies, is certainly the outcome of prolonged labours, and, were it not for some outstanding blemishes, I should gladly speak of it as a whole as a meritorious piece of work.

The author's purpose being twofold, the book is divided into two main parts. First comes a detailed account of recent investigation in Synoptic fields; and, albeit Dr Patton is admittedly indebted to his authorities, he is not at all content *iurare in verba magistri*, but so exercises his independent judgement as to warrant the claim advanced by him that what he offers is no mere survey of phenomena, tentative opinion, and established result. His discussion of the treatment of the Marcan Gospel by Matthew and Luke is good; his criticism of von Soden and Wendling is to the point; if, as some will think, he goes near to slaying the slain in marshaling the array of proofs that (as Wellhausen puts it) Mark 'ist kein Excerpt, sondern ein Ingrediens' of the two other Synoptics and in discrediting the view that Matthew copied from Luke or Luke from Matthew, he will probably earn the gratitude of less instructed Bible students. The hypothesis of an Ur-Marcus is regarded by him as superfluous; he believes that the later Synoptists had resort to copies, not identical, of a text of Mark which had already undergone correction, and he deals provisionally with the existence and content of Q. In the second part of the book we have 'his own more personal contribution' to the subject, which consists of an analysis of the 'non-Markan document' into 'Q Mt. and Q Lk.' extending over many pages. The contention here is that, while Matthew and Luke seem to have taken their common matter from a Greek document which was a translation from the Aramaic, there were in existence 'two recensions of Q each of which had passed

through a history of its own and had become in many ways differentiated from the other, and that in certain parts of each recension such differentiation had not occurred, so that these sections may still be referred to under the symbol Q'. Further conclusions are that 'Mark has some literary dependence on Q; but the Q which he knew was an earlier form than those in the hands of Matthew and Luke', and that 'the original order of Q is best seen in the order of the Q material preserved in' our Third Gospel.

It may be that Dr Patton's 'more personal contribution', however interesting, has not throughout the charm of novelty. But this by the way; the unpleasant duty is now laid upon me of saying that I am all the more disposed to check his statements and conclusions as distrust is engendered by unpardonable slips. Why is it that (p. 5) he alludes to 'the healing of the nobleman's daughter' when the reference given by him is plainly to the centurion's servant? He blunders seriously when, reckless of the *τὸν Καναῖον* (R.V. Cananaean) of the genuine Marcan text, he glibly (p. 45) writes: 'Luke changes Mark's "Simon the Canaanite" (*sic*) to "Simon the Zealot".' And again, the dancing of the daughter of Herodias 'before the drunken tetrarch and his companions' (p. 54) may be a 'somewhat improbable feature' in Mark's narrative; it is simply not true that, as Dr Patton asserts, 'Matthew omits it'. Other grounds of complaint might be instanced—I naturally refrain from including modes of spelling ('thot' for 'thought' and 'brot' for 'brought'), which are neither pleasing to the eye nor satisfying to the ear; it must suffice to say that it is precisely because of lapses met with that I hesitate to use the word meritorious of a work which otherwise has much to recommend it to students of the Synoptic Problem. Let me add that the Tables contained in it are useful and commendable.

St Luke. Edited by CHARLES KNAPP, D.D. (London, Thomas Murby & Co., 1917.)

THE Junior Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford, is known as the Editor of Murby's Scripture Manuals, and the volume which lies before me is the third of his contributions to the Larger Series. It must be said at the outset that he is not exactly representative of modern scholarship; his own conclusions 'run counter to the received "Two-Document hypothesis"'; by no means certain that Q 'really existed as a separate document' he declines to believe in the use of Mark by Luke, and finds no difficulty in assigning our Third Gospel to a date 'not later than *circ.* 60'. As he frankly acknowledges (p. 334), his own standpoint is practically that of the late Dr Salmon, and accord-

ingly he so pursues his course as to make jettison of what to-day for the majority of scholars are established results. In all this there is ground for demur, and I shall not be alone in saying that in some measure it detracts from the value of a book which throughout testifies to a store of information on the part of its author and presents much really good matter. In respect of arrangement it leaves nothing to be desired; the introductory matter ranges over wide fields and is decidedly interesting; if here and there the explanatory notes occasion pause (as e.g. in the case of Dr Knapp's interpretation of the *πὼς συνέχεται* of Lk. xii 50), they are generally suggestive; qualifications are certainly necessitated, otherwise the Appendices are quite helpful as surveys of the topics of which they treat; the maps and plans are commendable. Taking the book as a whole I should say that it will serve a useful purpose for those younger students for whom these Manuals are primarily intended. Inviting criticism as it does it is not undeserving of praise.

A Historical Examination of some non-Markan elements in Luke.

By ERNEST WILLIAM PARSONS, Ph.D. (The University of Chicago Press, 1914.)

I HAD scarcely laid down the Manual of the foregoing notice when on turning, not for the first time, to this exceedingly interesting Essay, my eye was caught by some sentences—'it must be said that the two-document theory is assumed to be not proven' is one of them—which will assuredly commend themselves to Dr Knapp. But my concern is now with Dr Parsons; and I hasten to say that, as it appears to me, he has packed a great deal of attractive matter into a comparatively small compass. In his view, it will be shared by others, the New Testament writings, not primarily historical works and certainly not penned 'merely because an author wished to produce' were rather 'pressed out in the heat of controversy . . . produced in some definite historical situation and to meet some specific need which is reflected more or less clearly in' their contents. A deprecating note is struck by him: 'too often the approach to the study of the gospels is from the standpoint and the days of Jesus'. The plea is then raised: 'is there not at least as much to be said in favor of an approach from the standpoint of the Christian community in the period of gospel-making when these traditions were taking shape . . . is it not strictly historical and psychologically correct to consider the gospel sources in the light of the pressing and insistent needs of the primitive' Church?

With such preliminary remarks as these, and with reply to anticipated objections, does Dr Parsons unfold his purpose. He refuses to be hampered by any theory which hinges on the literary aspect of the

Synoptic Problem. He is simply concerned to 'submit some of the non-Markan material of the Third Gospel to an examination from the historical and problem-situation standpoints, with a view to discovering the interests which lie behind the formation of the tradition, and thus to gain a knowledge of the provenance of such tradition and the date at which it probably took form'. The task thus indicated arrives at its performance as Dr Parsons addresses himself in the first instance to a minute and lengthy scrutiny of the 'Great Interpolation', while an equally perspicuous survey of Luke iii-viii brings his eminently readable pages to their close. Space forbids that I should linger—as I gladly would—on conjecture and hypothesis in respect of individual passages or specify more general conclusions; but room must be made for a compression of the final verdict. For the material subjected to examination at least three sources, besides Mark, have been utilized by the Third Evangelist; the first being that incorporated *en bloc* in the 'Great Interpolation', the second is the Sermon on the Plain, the third a 'christological document scattered throughout chaps. iii, iv, v, and vii'. Of these the first and third, so Dr Parsons thinks, are 'manifestly composite and doubtless had a literary history before they reached the hand of' Luke. Alike Palestinian in origin, Jerusalem, in all likelihood, is 'the place where they assumed documentary form'.

It is quite probable that Dr Parsons will sometimes fail to bring conviction to his readers; but, unless I am greatly mistaken, they will rise with appreciation from the perusal of an Essay for which, though I am not on all points persuaded, I for one would nevertheless tender him my thanks.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1917 (Vol. lxxxv, No. 169 : Spottiswoode & Co.). H. M. BURGE Our use of the reserved sacrament—R. LETHBRIDGE The tithe in the ancient British Church of Wales—H. L. CLARKE Church of England in Australia—C. H. TURNER The Church Order of St Hippolytus—A STUDENT OF LOUVAIN Cardinal Mercier's philosophy—F. H. CHASE Henry Barclay Swete—W. A. SPOONER Two permanent causes of industrial unrest—The War—A. C. HEADLAM 'Essays in orthodoxy'—Short notices.

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November 1917 (Eighth Series, No. 83). R. HARRIS Christ the Firstborn—M. JONES The style of St Paul's preaching—H. T. ANDREWS The philosophical background of the Epistle to the Hebrews—G. MACKINLAY The date of the Nativity was 8 B. C.—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Eucharistic Cup—A. T. ROBERTSON The versatility of Paul—A. WRIGHT The primacy of Judas Iscariot.

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March 1918 (Eighth Series, No. 87). F. R. TENNANT The concept of the Infinite in theology—A. C. WELCH A fresh study of Zechariah's visions—A. T. ROBERTSON The date of St Mark's Gospel—H. T. ANDREWS The title *Κύριος* as applied to Jesus—G. MILLIGAN Greek papyri—W. S. BISHOP Two Pauline antitheses.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1917 (Vol. xxi, No. 4: Chicago University Press). J. W. BUCKHAM Luther's place in modern theology—W. H. T. DAU Luther's relation to Lutheranism and the American Lutheran Church—W. J. MCGLOTHLIN Luther's doctrine of good works—E. A. COOK Ritschl's use of value-judgments—F. A. CHRISTIE Unitarianism—G. A. BARTON New Babylonian material concerning Creation and Paradise.

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The Princeton Theological Review, October 1917 (Vol. xv, No. 4: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD The ninety-five theses in their theological significance—D. S. SCHAFF Martin Luther and John Calvin, Church reformers—F. W. LOETSCHER Luther and the problem of authority in Religion—G. L. ROBINSON Galatians, the epistle of Protestantism—C. ROBINSON Some economic results of the Protestant Reformation doctrines—Reviews of recent literature.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

I

LE DE LAZARO DE POTAMIUS.

Nous sommes redevables à Potamius, évêque d'Olisipo (Lisbonne) en Lusitanie vers le milieu du iv^e siècle,¹ de quelques pages de latin qui sont parmi les plus curieuses de l'ancienne littérature chrétienne, d'un mauvais goût, d'une obscurité et aussi d'une fatuité qui n'ont pas été souvent égalées. Ce vieil auteur espagnol, étrange personnage s'il en fut, accuse jusqu'à la difformité le tempérament de sa race. A ce point de vue du moins, il mérite d'être lu, s'il est vrai qu'il faut un effort peu ordinaire pour le comprendre.

Potamius, dont le catalogue de saint Jérôme n'a pas retenu le nom, s'est vanté d'avoir eu des succès littéraires.² Il n'est pas impossible qu'il ait laissé une œuvre assez considérable. De celle-ci nous pouvons juger présentement par quatre écrits, d'un style pareil et vraiment inimitable, sauvés du naufrage grâce à des prête-noms illustres. Ce sont : une courte lettre à saint Athanase, qui fait partie d'un vaste dossier composé par les Lucifériens d'Espagne vers la fin du iv^e siècle et où domine le nom de l'évêque d'Alexandrie;³

¹ On pourra trouver les éléments d'une notice historique sur Potamius dans la *Revue Bénédictine* xxx, 1913, 257-263. Depuis lors j'ai remarqué, non sans quelque étonnement, un fragment de lettre de saint Athanase 'ad Potamium episcopum', rapporté par Alcuin dans son *Liber contra haeresim Felicis* de 794 (c. 61 : cf. *P. L.* t. ci 113). Ce morceau, qui s'était conservé vraisemblablement en Espagne et dont il n'y a aucune raison de suspecter l'authenticité, permettrait d'ajouter un ou deux traits à l'esquisse.

² C'est ainsi que j'interprète le début du traité *De substantia patris et filii* : 'Soleo fratres, ut ipsi dicitis et ego non nescio, secreta legis intrare, medullas dogmatis haurire, uiscerum uenas attingere et interna parabolarum membra palpare.' Ces paroles déplaisantes sont d'un homme qui n'est pas seulement content de lui-même, mais content des autres.

³ *Epistula Potami ad Athanasium episcopum* : texte publié par Dom Luc d'Achery, *Spécialium* ii 1657 (et 1681), p. 366 (réédition de la Barre, iii, 1723, p. 299 sq.) ; repris par les Ballerini, *Sancti Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones*, 1739, Appendix,

un traité plus étendu, et qui devra être édité convenablement quelque jour, 'sur la substance du Père et du Fils': pièce égarée dans une série de lettres de saint Jérôme;¹

deux brefs discours, l'un sur le martyre d'Isaïe, l'autre sur la résurrection de Lazare, conservés ensemble dans la collection des sermons de Zénon de Vérone.²

Ces quatre morceaux sont d'une époque où l'évêque de Lisbonne demeurerait fidèle à l'orthodoxie. Il semble qu'il faille leur assigner comme limites extrêmes les années 343 et 353.³

Une remarque qui, je crois, n'a pas encore été faite me fournit l'occasion de proposer un nouveau texte du *De Lazaro*.

* * *

p. 302 sq. (de là, dans Gallandi, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* v, 1769, p. 99, et dans la Patrologie latine de Migne, t. viii 1416-1418). L'article cité de la *Revue Bénédicte*, p. 263-285, présente une nouvelle édition de la lettre d'après une dizaine de manuscrits, et un trop long commentaire sur son authenticité, la collection qui nous l'a transmise, la teneur et le sens de son titre traditionnel, enfin sur sa date et son occasion.

¹ '*Epistola beati Iheronimi de substantia patris ac filii et spiritus sancti*': imprimé pour la première fois par le P. Guillermo Antolin, bibliothécaire de l'Escorial, d'après un manuscrit de cette bibliothèque (cf. *Opusculos desconocidos de san Jerónimo*, Madrid, 1909, p. 10-24 [extrait de la *Revista de Archivos, Bibliothecas y Museos* xii, 1908, p. 207]). Les droits de Potamius sur cet opuscule ne sauraient faire l'objet du moindre doute pour quiconque place en regard le texte de la lettre à saint Athanase; c'est même le principal intérêt de cette dernière composition, cf. *Revue Bénédicte* xxix, 1912, p. 278 sq., et xxx, 1913, p. 268 sq. — Sur la collection des lettres de saint Jérôme à l'Escorial, cf. *ib.* 1912, p. 274 ss.

² *De Lazaro et De martyrio Esaiæ prophetæ*: édition princeps, Venise 1508; nouvelle édition (détestable), Vérone 1586 (d'où le texte de la *Maxima*, Lyon 1677, t. iii, p. 381 ss.); voir sur ces volumes la thèse d'A. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, Münster 1904, p. 8 ss. — Édition critique des Ballerini (comme ci-dessus, Appendix, p. 297 ss.), reproduite par Gallandi, t. v, p. 96 ss., et par Migne, *P. L.* t. viii, 1411 ss. C'est le mérite des frères Ballerini d'avoir identifié l'auteur des deux *tractatus*, s'ils se sont mépris sur le sens de la lettre à saint Athanase; cf. leur préface à l'Appendice, p. 294-296 (*P. L.* t. xi 531 sq.).

³ Potamius est mort vers la fin de 357 en revenant de Sirmium, d'après une donnée du *Libellus Precum* qui paraît solide (éd. Guenther, *CSEL.* xxxv, 1895, p. 17, l. 23 ss.: n. 32). L'empereur Constance a pu le gagner à l'arianisme en 351 au plus tôt, en 353 au plus tard. Évêque de Lisbonne, il l'est devenu après Sardique (343); il ne l'a peut-être été qu'en 345 ou 347. J'estime que l'*Epistola ad Athanasium*, laquelle peut seule recevoir directement une date approximative, est soit de 350, soit — moins probablement — de 352. Mais l'opuscule sur le consubstantiel est presque nécessairement contemporain de la lettre. De plus, à bien entendre la première phrase de l'opuscule, celui-ci a été précédé d'autres publications, discours ou lettres. En résumé, si l'on tient à préciser, toute la carrière de Potamius tourne autour de l'année 350. Il se trouve être à ce compte, puisque rien ne nous a été conservé de Hosius, le plus ancien écrivain espagnol dont nous ayons des compositions en prose (le poète Juvencus est en effet son aîné). L'activité littéraire de Grégoire d'Elvire appartient plutôt à la période suivante.

Obligé par les Pélagiens, qui s'en prévalaient, de défendre le nom déjà célèbre de saint Jean Chrysostome, saint Augustin en 421 argumente ainsi contre son habile adversaire Julien d'Éclane au sujet du péché d'origine :¹

Audi iam, Iuliane, quid etiam Ioannes cum ceteris catholicis doctoribus dicat.

Ad Olympiam scribens : *Quando enim Adam peccauit, inquit, illud grande peccatum et omne genus hominum in commune damnauit, de moerore poenas luebat.*

Item de resuscitatione Lazari : *Flebat Christus, inquit, cur usque ad hoc mortalitas deliquisset ut excussa de perennitatibus inferos adamaret. Flebat Christus quod eos qui immortales esse poterant diabolus fecit esse mortales.*

Quid dici posset expressius ? Quid ad ista respondes ?

Si Adam grandi peccato suo omne genus humanum in commune damnauit, numquid nisi damnatus paruulus nascitur ? Et per quem nisi per Christum ab ista damnatione liberatur ?

Si et in Lazaro dicitur excussa de perennitatibus mortalitas inferos adamasse, quis mortalium non ad istam culpam casumque pertineat, quo cecidit primus homo de uitae perennitate quam si non peccaret acceperat ? Si diabolus omnes qui immortales esse poterant fecit esse mortales, unde etiam paruuli moriuntur, si obnoxii peccato primi illius hominis non sunt ? Numquid ergo nisi per eum in quo omnes uiuificabuntur, etiam paruuli de regno mortis eruuntur ?

¹ *Contra Iulianum*, l. i, c. vi, n. 24 (P. L. t. xlv, 656 sq.). Une partie de l'argument reparait en 429-430 dans l'ultime ouvrage du docteur d'Hippone, l'*Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*, l. vi, c. vii (P. L. t. xlv, 1512 sq.) :

Audi Ioannem Constantinopolitanum excellentis gloriae sacerdotem,

'Peccauit, inquit, Adam illud grande peccatum et omne genus hominum in commune damnauit.'

Audi etiam in Lazari resuscitatione quid dicat, ut intelligas etiam corporis mortem de illo grandi uenisse peccato,

'Flebat, inquit, Christus quod eos qui immortales esse *potuerunt* diabolus fecit esse mortales.'

Vbi, obsecro te, diabolus omnes homines fecit esse mortales, nisi in illo cui praeuicationis inflixit tam grande peccatum, quo ex paradisi beatitudine in tantam miseriam quam uidemus atque sentimus genus proiceretur humanum ?

De cette nouvelle référence au *De Lazaro* on est en droit de conclure : premièrement, que Julien, dans sa dernière réponse, n'avait pas récusé l'autorité mise en avant par saint Augustin ; secondement, qu'il avait jugé préférable de ne pas discuter les termes de la citation. Il est fort possible aussi que Julien ait eu lui-même entre les mains un exemplaire de la collection latine qui comprenait le *De Lazaro*, mais c'est ce qu'on ne saurait poser en fait à partir d'un simple *argumentum ex silentio*. — Le passage de la lettre à Olympias revient encore d'autres fois dans l'*Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*, non pas celui du *De Lazaro* ; c'est une erreur sans portée des éditeurs qui fait passer l'un pour l'autre au l. i, c. lii (P. L. *ib.* 1075).

La première citation est tirée de la 3^e lettre à Olympias et n'a pas à être discutée. Le second texte, attribué par saint Augustin à saint Jean Chrysostome, se rencontre en effet dans une collection latine d'homélies de Chrysostome et, tout comme l'indique saint Augustin, dans une homélie intitulée *De Lazaro resuscitato*. Seulement, si surprenant que cela puisse paraître au premier abord, cette homélie n'est pas une production de Chrysostome ni même une pièce apocryphe quelconque traduite du grec, mais une composition purement latine, le discours même — variantes à part — que la collection des sermons de Zénon nous a conservé et dont Potamius est l'auteur. Sur ce fait, il ne saurait y avoir le moindre doute. Potamius, dans un développement où éclate son outrecuidance, s'est lui-même désigné :

Qualis illic eras, Christe Iesu? . . . Heu me, quid interrogo quem tunc uidere non merui? Nunc tamen quis quantusue sis pietate cognoui. Ecce inter haec Iesus Christus saluator humani generis fleuisse narratur. Age age Potami, seruus dei uiui, si aliquid praeuales, de lacrimis domini uel pauca narrato.¹

Sauf le mot *Potami* naturellement, on retrouve tout le passage dans l'homélie du Pseudo-Chrysostome. Le texte de celle-ci est d'ailleurs écourté notablement dans la première partie, mais il présente ensuite plusieurs phrases omises dans la collection de Zénon, si bien que nous possédons deux traditions parallèles qui se complètent l'une l'autre de la manière la plus heureuse.

* * *

Voici en bref, et tout bien pesé, comment on peut se représenter la petite aventure littéraire du *De Lazaro*.

1. La pièce, en compagnie du morceau sur le martyre d'Isaïe, a dû faire son chemin d'Espagne en Italie — très probablement par l'Afrique² — avant la fin du iv^e siècle. Peut-être ne portait-elle déjà plus le nom de son véritable auteur.

2. Diminuée des détails horribles sur le cadavre de Lazare en putréfaction et des phrases enchevêtrées sur le composé humain,³ elle a été incluse, au cours de la deuxième décade du v^e siècle, en même temps que plusieurs autres compositions latines, dans une collection d'homélies

¹ Voir ci-dessous l. 77, 78-82 de l'édition. C'est ce passage même que les Ballerini ont proprement découvert et qui leur a permis de tirer de l'oubli la personnalité de Potamius (cf. *P. L.* t. xi 531).

² Mon idée est, pour parler nettement, que les deux discours sur la résurrection de Lazare et sur le martyre d'Isaïe ont été apportés de Maurétanie en Italie, vers 360, par Zénon qui fut évêque de Vérone, autant qu'on peut voir, de 362 à 371 ou 372. Sur l'origine et la carrière de Zénon, cf. A. Bigelmair, *op. cit.* p. 51 ss., 55 ss.

³ Voir ci-dessous l. 4-7, 7-9, 10-18, 22-51 de l'édition.

portant le nom de Chrysostome qu'un Pélagien, Anien de Célada (Celenna en Campanie?), venait de traduire du grec. Cette collection pouvait dès lors comprendre la plupart des articles qui la composent dans nos manuscrits : une quarantaine d'homélies dont la moitié à peine appartiennent réellement à Chrysostome.¹ Rien n'indique, d'ailleurs, que l'interpolation cache quelque dessein hérétique.

3. Saint Augustin, forcé par la controverse de disputer aux partisans des idées nouvelles le patronage de Chrysostome, s'est procuré avant 421 un exemplaire de la collection latine récemment interpolée en Italie et lui a fait des emprunts. Il a été ainsi amené à produire sous le nom du patriarche de Constantinople un passage de l'auteur espagnol.

4. Au début du moyen âge, à Vérone, le texte premier du *De Lazaro* servit, avec le morceau sur Isaïe, à compléter le recueil des discours de Zénon. Les deux pièces, vraisemblablement, avaient été retrouvées parmi les esquisses et fragments laissés par Zénon² ; du même lot faisaient partie plusieurs *tractatus* de saint Hilaire sur les Psaumes et des discours de saint Basile traduits par Rufin.³ Le tout fut rassemblé et paré du nom de l'évêque de Vérone.

A ce point s'arrête la part inévitable de la conjecture. On n'a plus qu'à enregistrer des faits tout nus, faciles à observer. Je poursuis ce résumé de la question.

5. Le recueil supplémenté des sermons de Zénon appartient en propre à l'Église de Vérone. Le seul manuscrit qu'on en ait signalé en dehors d'Italie⁴ est un volume de l'Église de Reims, présenté probablement à Hincmar par un des prédécesseurs de l'infortuné Rathier, jaloux comme celui-ci de procurer des admirateurs au vieil évêque. Les premiers éditeurs de Zénon au commencement du xvi^e siècle, acceptant les yeux fermés la tradition véronaise, ne s'aperçurent pas de l'erreur commise au sujet du *De Lazaro*. Celle-ci ne fut découverte

¹ Voir la note additionnelle et documentaire *Sur la collection des 38 homélies latines de saint Jean Chrysostome*. J'ai réuni sous ce chef tout un ensemble d'indications qui eussent tout embarrassé le présent exposé.

² A. Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, p. 34, a conjecturé de la teneur traditionnelle d'un des *tractatus* que la collection de Zénon avait été d'abord formée vers le milieu du v^e siècle. Je ne sais trop si son raisonnement est bien solide. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le premier éditeur s'est trouvé en face d'une foule de textes de toute nature et de toutes dimensions qui provenaient ensemble, dans un beau désordre, de l'héritage littéraire laissé par Zénon, et qu'il a tenté de classer. En fait, ce qui revient en droit à Potamius, à saint Hilaire et à saint Basile constitue dans les manuscrits une sorte de série supplémentaire : sermons 31 à 41 du 2^e livre.

³ Cf. *Revue Bénédictine* xxx, p. 267, notes 3 et 4.

⁴ Sur ce manuscrit, désigné plus loin par la lettre R, cf. Ballerini, *Praefatio*, P. L. t. xi. 14 ss. ; A. Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, p. 14 s. ; V. Lazarini, *Scuola calligrafica veronese del secolo ix*, 1904, p. 5. Les notes liturgiques certifient l'origine véronaise du volume.

que par les frères Ballerini en 1739. Potamius faisait enfin sa rentrée à découvert dans le monde littéraire.

6. Cependant, dès les débuts de l'imprimerie, la recension abrégée avait été publiée, en même temps que toute la collection des homélies latines de Chrysostome.¹ Celle-ci n'avait pas cessé d'être lue et copiée pendant le moyen âge. On en retrouve les divers éléments, mais dispersés, sous la rubrique uniforme 'incerto interprete', dans les innombrables éditions latines des œuvres de saint Jean Chrysostome qui se succédèrent à Bâle, à Venise, à Paris, jusqu'au moment où les éditions grecques de Saville (1612) et de Fronton du Duc (1609-1624) dépassèrent à peu près complètement l'ancienne tradition latine. Par un curieux retour des choses, cette dernière n'est plus guère abordable de nos jours. Il est presque superflu d'ajouter que les anciens érudits n'ont pas démêlé l'identité de l'auteur responsable de l'homélie *De Lazaro resuscitato*. Les plus avisés se contentent de déclarer la pièce suspecte. Sixte de Sienne a pourtant eu l'idée de la revendiquer pour saint Pierre Chrysologue.² Combefis avait bien remarqué le fait de la double tradition latine ; mais, satisfait de trouver le texte véronais plus complet, c'est celui-ci qu'il a imprimé sans sourciller sous le nom Zénon, à côté d'autres homélies de saint Jean Chrysostome sur la péripécie de Lazare.³

7. Des études récentes ont commencé de faire la lumière sur la collection latine des homélies de Chrysostome. On a montré qu'elle comprenait cinq sermons de saint Jérôme.⁴ Un autre morceau, comme je le ferai voir prochainement, a été composé apparemment à Rome, dans la première moitié du iv^e siècle, par un nommé Pontius Maximus.⁵ Il reste encore à identifier quelques pièces qui paraissent être latines.⁶ Pour toutes celles qui correspondent à des originaux grecs, on tend présentement à faire honneur de la version à Anien de Célada. J'espère du moins, après ce qui vient d'être dit, qu'on ne songera plus à regarder le *De Lazaro* cité par saint Augustin comme une rédaction du même Anien.⁷ Il est trop clair désormais que les droits de Potamius sont indiscutables.

8. Enfin, il est de toute évidence que le rapprochement des deux traditions latines, celle du faux Zénon et celle du faux Chrysostome, permet d'établir un texte assez solide et assez nouveau. Certains détails demeurent forcément incertains parce que, si bons éditeurs que

¹ Sur les éditions de 1466 et de 1483, voir la *Note* additionnelle.

² *Bibliotheca sancta*, ed. 1610, p. 263.

³ *Bibliotheca patrum concionatoria* iii, 1662, p. 177.

⁴ Voir la *Note* additionnelle, n^{os} 16, 20-23.

⁵ Voir, en attendant, la même *Note*, n^o 17.

⁶ Même *Note*, n^{os} 5, 6, 8.

⁷ Cf. C. Baur, *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, Louvain, viii, 1907, p. 260.

se soient montrés pour l'ensemble les Ballerini, ils n'ont pas su marquer exactement les relations des manuscrits qu'ils utilisaient; ils ont d'ailleurs ignoré l'existence d'un manuscrit de Pistoie dont le témoignage mériterait d'être recueilli.¹ Mais quant au reste, et sans diminuer la valeur des passages attestés seulement par le Ps.-Chrysostome, nous avons l'assurance, dans tous les cas où les deux traditions sont d'accord, de posséder un texte du *De Lazaro* qui remonte exactement au début du ^v^e siècle. Peu d'auteurs latins ont donc l'avantage dont jouit ici Potamius.

* * *

Dans l'édition qui suit j'appelle respectivement *ZEN* et *CHRY* les deux traditions littéraires dont la fortune vient d'être racontée.

Ainsi *ZEN* représentera l'ensemble des témoins que fait comparaître l'édition des Ballerini. Il a semblé utile, en même temps, d'enregistrer la totalité des variantes qui constituent l'*apparatus* des Ballerini. Voici les différents sigles attribués à leurs manuscrits :

R : ms. de Notre-Dame de Reims, ^{viii}^e-^{ix}^e siècle, écrit à Vérone, brûlé en 1774 (collation de Maffei)² ;

S : ms. de Sparaverio, à Vérone, cité seulement de temps à autre par les Ballerini qui ne l'ont pas vu, semblable d'ailleurs aux manuscrits *Z*³ ;

T : ms. des Clercs Réguliers de Saint-Nicolas de Tolentino à Venise, ^{xiii}^e siècle (collation de Maffei)⁴ ;

U : ms. d'Urbino '150', ^{xiv}^e siècle⁵ ;

V : ms. du Vatican 1235, ^{xiii}^e siècle⁶ ;

X : ms. des comtes Pompei à Vérone, ^{xv}^e siècle⁷ ;

Z : deux manuscrits du monastère de Saint-Zénon, Vérone, ^{xv}^e siècle, qui sont à la base de l'édition de 1508 (Venise).⁸

v désigne l'édition des Ballerini (Vérone 1739).

¹ Cf. I. B. Giuliani, *S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones*, Veronae, 1900, p. cx sq. Le manuscrit du Chapitre de Pistoie serait du ^{ix}^e ou du ^x^e siècle. Giuliani a employé en outre (cf. *ib.* p. cxi-cxiii), mais incomplètement et sans méthode, pour sa nouvelle édition des *tractatus* de Zénon (dont il a malheureusement exclu les pièces de l'appendice) : le manuscrit 327 du Chapitre de Vérone (que j'identifierais volontiers avec l'un des *Zenoniani* des anciennes éditions), un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale de Parme, un manuscrit de Venise provenant des Théatins (et par suite analogue au *Tolentinus* des Ballerini), enfin les deux *Vaticani* 1233 et 1234. Tous ces exemplaires seraient du ^{xv}^e siècle, sauf le *Vat.* 1234 du ^{xiv}^e.

² Ballerini, *Praefatio*, p. iv ss. (nos 3-5 : *P. L.* t. xi 14 ss.), et voir ci-dessus. Les deux fac-similés pris par Maffei en 1730 sont une garantie suffisante de la date proposée.

³ *Ib.* p. xii (no 11 : *P. L.*, *ib.* 20 sq., et cf. 535).

⁴ *Ib.* p. ix sq. (no 6 : *P. L.* 17 sq.).

⁵ *Ib.* p. xi sq. (no 8 : *P. L.* 19 sq.).

⁶ *Ib.* p. x sq. (no 7 : *P. L.* 18 sq.). Les éditeurs ont aussi indiqué un manuscrit semblable de la Basilique de Saint-Pierre, F. 33, ^{xiii}^e-^{xiv}^e siècle, qui leur avait été signalé au dernier moment par Bianchini, cf. *ib.* p. xi (no 8 : *P. L.* 20).

⁷ *Ib.* p. xiv (no 12 : *P. L.* 21).

⁸ *Ib.* p. xii (nos 9 et 10 : *P. L.* 20).

On est porté à croire *a priori* que le *Remensis*, vu son âge, prime les autres manuscrits véronais au point de leur enlever toute valeur. En fait, il n'est pas exempt lui-même de fautes qui lui sont propres et, inversement, on constate que les deux groupes des manuscrits récents (*TUV, SXZ*) se trouvent parfois d'accord avec la tradition *CHRY*S. Il ne sont donc nullement à dédaigner ; l'apparence est qu'ils dépendent d'anciens manuscrits véronais, plus anciens que celui de Reims. Je suis, au reste, convaincu que pour arriver en cette matière à la perfection du détail et faire disparaître toute obscurité il serait nécessaire de collationner à nouveau ces divers manuscrits et de renforcer autant que possible par de nouveaux subsides leur témoignage.

J'ai mentionné à l'occasion les conjectures proposées en note par les Ballerini (*Ball*), celles de Sparaverio (*Spar*)¹ et les leçons de l'édition *princeps* (*Ven*).

Les manuscrits de la famille *CHRY*S sont fort nombreux, comme on pourra le voir plus loin.² J'en ai choisi quelques-uns parmi ceux que le malheur des temps rendait accessibles. Ils suffisent certainement à donner une image de ce côté de la tradition. Mais là encore un peu d'obscurité subsiste. Le manuscrit de l'Arsenal (*C*) a une tendance assez marquée à se rapprocher, dans certains cas, des leçons *ZEN* ; mon sentiment est que son archétype doit avoir été corrigé dans ce sens par un lecteur qui avait eu la chance de se procurer un manuscrit des sermons de Zénon, soit le manuscrit de Reims, soit un dérivé. Le manuscrit de Paris 12.141 (*P*) manifeste également une propension à introduire des leçons divergentes. Pour le reste, les manuscrits du ix^e siècle représentent une tradition déjà bien fixée et solide : le manuscrit d'Oxford (de Lorsch ?), avec lequel le manuscrit de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés (*F*) fait groupe et qui a lui-même gardé les graphies archaïques de son modèle ; le manuscrit d'Angers, incolore ; le manuscrit de Saint-Gall, que je regarderais volontiers comme le plus voisin de la souche primitive italienne. Tous ensemble ils permettent d'éliminer les mauvaises leçons de l'édition *princeps* et surtout de marquer dans l'édition de Gelenius la part des conjectures.

J'ai choisi pour la famille *CHRY*S une série de sigles qu'il sera facile de distinguer des précédents :

A : ms. d'Angers 147, ix^e siècle (St Aubin), fol. 70 v^o–71 v^o ;

C : ms. de l'Arsenal 175, xii^e siècle (Fontenay, Cîteaux), fol. 33 v^o–34 r^o ;

¹ P. 401–404 de l'édition des Ballerini (*P. L.*, *ib.* 586–591).

² Voir la *Note* additionnelle.

³ J'ai disposé d'une collation établie par M. le Chanoine Urseau et de notes de mon confrère Dom Paul Serrant.

⁴ Collation faite par M. Paul Deslandres, bibliothécaire à l'Arsenal.

- E*: édition de 1483 (British Museum, I. B. 9018, fol. 243 v^o–244 r^o);
F: ms. de Paris B. N. 12.140, ix^e–x^e siècle (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, fol. 98 r^o–99 r^o);
G: ms. de Saint-Gall 103, ix^e siècle, p. 191 sqq.¹;
O: ms. d'Oxford, Laud Misc. 452, ix^e siècle (Lorsch?), fol. 83 r^o–84 r^o;
P: ms. de Paris B. N. 12.141, ix^e–x^e siècle,³ fol. 92 v^o–93 v^o.
b: édition de Gelenius (Bâle 1547; t. iii, c. 429–430).

* * *

Il est fâcheux pour la réputation de Potamius (je ne parle pas de sa politique ecclésiastique) qu'il ait un goût aussi prononcé pour l'emphase et se soit fabriqué un lexique détestable. Il était capable, à certains moments, de bien écrire, simplement et clairement. Quant à sa pensée religieuse, on le verra sans peine, elle est nettement et exclusivement occidentale. Plus précisément, elle est, nonobstant le voile opaque des mots, une image réduite de l'ancienne tradition latine, dont Tertullien fut tout à la fois le plus brillant représentant et le principal instituteur, et qui, Novatien mis à part, ne produira jusqu'à saint Hilaire de Poitiers aucun théologien: pensée peu profonde, peu étudiée, mais robuste, consistante, simple, conforme au sens commun, suffisante pour la pratique. Potamius ne s'embarrasse pas de subtilités. Il a reçu l'héritage de la foi chrétienne. Le Christ est Dieu et Sauveur⁴; c'est

¹ Collation du Dr. Ad. Fähr, conservateur de la Stiftsbibliothek. — J'adresse ici à tous mes aimables collaborateurs mes sincères remerciements.

² Le Rév. H. M. Bannister a bien voulu me procurer d'excellentes photographies des pages du *De Lazaro* et me confirmer l'erreur de Coxe relativement à la date; il m'a fait aussi remarquer que la provenance de Lorsch restait douteuse, le volume actuel étant formé de deux parties nettement distinctes.

³ Delisle a daté simplement du x^e les deux manuscrits de Paris; certains détails graphiques me font croire qu'ils sont un peu plus anciens.

⁴ Il n'est rien que de naturel assurément dans le fait qu'un écrivain du iv^e siècle appelle Jésus Dieu et Sauveur. Ce qui est remarquable, c'est qu'il emploie couramment, plutôt que le titre normal *Dominus*, les désignations *deus* et *saluator*, et qu'il en arrive par exemple à se servir d'expressions comme *dei genibus* (64) et *flebat deus* (sept fois: 81, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 93). Voici d'ailleurs la liste des noms que Potamius donne à Jésus dans le *De Lazaro*:

Iesus Christus: 80, 104, et *Christus Iesus*: 77;

Christus: 8, 71, 98, 107, 112, 124;

Filius: 97, (102).

Dominus: 52, 82, 107 (*dominus saluator*);

Deus: 4, 62, 64, 81, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 93.

Saluator: 59, 68, 80 (*saluator humani generis*), 100, 102 (*saluator noster*), 107, 121.

On peut encore noter comme des exemples assez caractéristiques de théologie populaire les phrases suivantes: *eos qui immortales esse potuerunt diabolus (fecit)*,

tout son *Credo*. Il est vrai que, plus tard, il se débarrassera aussi, avec une désinvolture déconcertante, de la doctrine reçue. Il n'en avait sans doute jamais apprécié la vertu cachée, dans son vain souci de la forme.¹

esse mortales (89 sq.); *eos quos fecerat (deus) innocentes diabolus per malitiam suam fecit inueniri nocentes* (93 sq.); *pro tua morte factus est et Christus ipse mortalis* (97 sq.).

¹ J'ajoute une remarque qui se présentera probablement à l'esprit de plus d'un lecteur. Le récit des faits évangéliques auquel s'attache Potamius offre plusieurs détails si précis — comme l. 5, 73 sq., 100, 114, 118-123 — qu'ils pourraient bien n'avoir pas été simplement inventés pour rendre la mise en scène plus saisissante, mais avoir été puisés à des sources apocryphes. Potamius, d'instinct, devait se plaire à ce genre de littérature; et en effet, on a la preuve, d'autre part, qu'il avait lu l'*Ascension d'Isaïe* et qu'il s'en est inspiré dans son court morceau sur le martyr du prophète.

DE LAZARO

Grandi, fratres, stupore grandique miraculo per ambiguas curas hinc inde in concauo uertiginis sinu pronis fluctibus torqueor.

Lazarus mortuus est, deo hic familiaris, ut ferunt, teste euangelio 5 apud Ioannem, cum quadragenariae uoluntatis gestu carnis detrimenta pensasset. Nam sub occasu iam proporo, quod terrenis artubus debebatur, hoc est ipsi humo magis quam homini, — ut nobis ipsis iuxta librum Genesis opimus luti liquor in causa est, — longe alibi Christo censore, dum Iudaeae finibus salutaria foeneraret, sepultus est et 10 humatus; hoc est ut inciperet esse quod fuerat, lutum scilicet, dum desinit esse quod erat forma uel fabula.

4 Cf. Ioa. xi 4, 11, 36.

7 Similiter de 'homine' ex 'humo' deducto tractant Lactantius, *Instit.* II x 3; Gregorius Illiberitanus, *Tract. Ps. Origenis* i p. 6, 1; Zeno Veronensis *Tract.* l. I xii (ed. Giuliani, p. 85 l. 4); Ambrosius *De officiis* iii 3. 16.

8 Cf. Gen. ii 7

9 Cf. Ioa. xi 6, 7.

Cf. Ioa. xi 17.

1 resuscitato add. *CHRY*S, *Ven.*

2 que om. *CHRY*S per a. curas

om. *CHRY*S hinc] et add. *Eb*

3 in concauo u. s. pronis om. *CHRY*S

uertiginis] uoraginis *propos. Spar.*

torqueor] tollor *CHRY*S : tollorum sic *E* :

dolorum *b* 4 mortuos *O*

deo hic . . . iam proporo (l. 6) om. *CHRY*S

ferunt] fertur *S*

5 cum apud ioannem *SXZ Ven.* : cum teste eu. apud ioannem

Ball. uoluntatis] aetatis *propos. Ball.* : uitae *Spar.*

6 quod] et ut *CHRY*S,

exc. G qui habet et quod artibus *CHRY*S (*exc. AEb*), et add. uel membris

foetoribus (foetentibus uel fet. *CGP*)

delebatur *Eb*

7 hoc est ipsi . . .

salutaria foeneraret (l. 9) om. *CHRY*S

magis om. *X Ven.*

8 opimus

conici : optimus *ZEN* : exclusit *Spar.*

luti om. *R* (sed cf. l. 10) liquor] obducit

add. *R* (*ex infer. loco l. 30, ut uid.*)

caussa *v*

9 censore] censente *propos.*

Spar., absente uel existente *Ball.*

10 hoc est ut . . . sepultura damnaret (l. 18)

om. *CHRY*S

Hic quippe, per graues tenebrarum globos et nigri horroris umbracula, hoc est per quatuor dierum circulos, succidua incrementi et decrementi uicissitudine renascentes,—octo, ut ita dixerim, cum caerulis noctibus dies,—pendulo mandibularum rictu, elisis in ore dentibus, foetido ore ¹⁵ sic iacuit, uere quia de terrena labe confectus, putris gleba, marcesceret et neruorum traduces cum corporis qualitate miserabili tabo infelix sepultura damnaret. Contractis igitur membris inter ieunas et numerabiles costas pellis tetra distenditur et humoris riuus qui de gurgite uiscerum relaxatur foetenti iam sentina per solum cadaueris teter et ²⁰ caeruleus labebatur.

Heu, quando non poterat cadauer, quatuor diebus et quatuor noctibus, per totum oris fellis et flemmatis flumina sentinarum, corruptis artubus foetentia, pulmonis spiramenta conflare? cum ipsa etiam rosa pudoris et uenustatis fragranti folio in suo sibimet parato balsamo, ut ita dixerim, ²⁵ pretiosior, contra si fuerit de rosario falce pollicis uellicata, marcenti morte tristis albescat, ita ut et colore floris careat et odore.

Aqua ipsa, si de flumine rapta sit in quo uiuit, perit, natura dum desinit esse quod uixit. Mox ergo, quia elementi sui, dum rapitur, substantia caret, ubicumque iacuerit, limum liquor abducit, mox et ³⁰ foetore sordescit.

Nemo ergo mirari debeat, si hominis,—quem spiritus, sapientiae sale conditum, redolenti aura seruauerat et ex caeli suauitate anima uiuacitate nectarea et balsami generositate melliflua rexerat, ne fieret diuortio recedentis spiritus lutea moles et pigra glebositas, caduca linea defun- ³⁵ ctorum repugnantibus fabricae qualitatibus,—corpus omne ad foetoris

¹² Cf. Ioa. xi 17, 40. ²³ Cf. Ioa. xi 17. ³² ss. *De tribus humanis principiis, quae sunt spiritus, anima et corpus, etiam uide primum inter Tractatus Gregorii Illib.* p. 4, in quo corporea elementa referuntur; similiter de quatuor elementis scripserunt Lactantius *Instt.* II xi et xiii; Ambrosius *Exameron* i 6, 7, iii 4, 18, et *Expos. in Lucam* v 90; Augustinus *De Genesi ad litteram* iii 4, 5 et *De ciuitate Dei* viii 5, xi 34, xx 18, xxi 4 etc.

¹⁴ caeruleis *X* noctibus dies] melius intellegeres diebus (fusae) noctes
¹⁵ ritu *Z Ven.* elisis] interclusis *propos. Spar.* ¹⁸ contractus *O¹*
membris *P (et infer.)* ieiuus *O¹* innumerabiles *CHRYC (exc. b)*
¹⁹ castas *O¹* umoris *P¹* ²⁰ relaxatur] laxabatur *CHRYC* et *om.*
CHRYC, exc. Cb ²¹ caerulus *X (cf. l. 14)*; *CHRYC, exc. Cb* habebatur
F ut uid. ²² heu quando . . . auctore miscentur (*l. 51 om. CHRYC*)
²³ flemmatis *scripsi*: fleumatis *X*: pneumatis *Z*: phlegmatis *ceteri, ut uid. ex v*
²⁵ flagranti *X* ²⁷ prius et *om. RTUV* ³⁰ abducit] obducit *SX (cf. appar. ad l. 8)*: obduxit *Ven.* ³² debet scripsit Mignaeus solus (non ex Gallandio re uera), sed habebat ipse *S ut uid. ex adnotationibus Fr. Sparauerio in Balleriana editione relatis p. 403)* hominem *SXZ* ³³ uiuacitate] undae *praem. T (quod quidem cum balsami generositate conuenit, ut animaduertit Ball.; sed umoris uel aeris malles)*
³⁴ rexerat sic *v cum R, corpus praem. cet. codd. ZEN (cf. l. 96)*
³⁵ et *om X, cui omissioni faueret Ball., post Ven.*

maculam sui de putredine relaxetur. Inde est quod, per distantiam rerum in unam glomerationem compacta, omnis membrorum natura torpescit. Recedente igitur anima quae corporis floriarium recolebat, 40 tota materies liuenti gena in putredinem relaxatur et pro uoce cadaueris nigri fellis teter mortui foetor hauritur.

Terra igitur humore frigore et calore composita corporis fabrica (quae quatuor partes semper sibimet repugnantes corpus crimum in procella subuertunt: calor frigus non amat et frigus calore torquetur,—contraria 45 contrariis mancipantur,—terra nimio humore uitiat et humor de terra sordescit), his quadriformibus elementis in unum quadripartita mole constantibus, dissociato per diuortium mortis auriga qui quatuor istis partibus loca dederat, ne quisquam mobilitatem sui uehementius tolleretur, et dominante flagro diuisis in unum concordanti iunctura finibus agita- 50 bat,—haec, inquam, quatuor partes, recedente anima, in globum corporis uiduati, excusso societatis auctore, miscentur.

Sed quia istum iuuenem—Lazarum loquor—dominus in saeculo dilexerat, praesaga uoce praescius futurorum apostolis suis dormisse Lazarum dixit. Quem promisit, si ad illam ciuitatem accederet, pro- 55 tinus excitandum.

Huic ergo Lazaro, cui liuenti, errante connixu per caerulas uenas, membra tabuerant, quem loculatum in specu incisae rupis, inmani obiectus ex pondere lapis perenni ualua, grauis libra detruserat, bono maiestatis munere serena augustae uirtutis aeternitas saluatoris flectitur

52 Cf. Ioa. xi 4, 11, 36.

53 Cf. Ioa. xi 11 (*et sic dormiuit uel obdormiuit habent antiqui testes diff²l cum pluribus graecis codicibus*).

57 Cf. Ioa. xi 17, 38, 41.

37 relaxatur UXZ distantiam] discordiam *propos. Spar.* 41 mortui
exclutit Spar. 43 semper om. R 47 dissortiatio T 48 nobilitatem X
50 haec UX inquam] igitur in U 52 istum] iustum Eb lazorum] quem
add. CHRYS locor F dominum XZ 53 dilexisse TUVXZ: dilexisset
CHRYS (dixisset O¹: dilexit C) praesaga uoce (*sic CHRYS*)] prece saga U:
praesagia T: praesagiis XZ (*exc. G*) om. ceteri codd. ZEN et u dormire
CHRYS 54 dixit] et add. CHRYS (*exc. C*) ad om. AFGOP excederet G
56 huic e. lazaro (*et sic CHRYS cum UVXZ*)] hunc e. lazorum u cum RTV ut uid.
liuenti e. connixu om. CHRYS ceruleas CEb (*cf. l. 21*) 57 tabuerunt
EOb: tabuerat P²: membrat habuerant sic F locutum CEb: locutus AFGOP
in specu] spelunca CHRYS incisa r. P: incise r. CF: incisa erupis G in-
mani scripsi cum CHRYS (ACFGOP): immani u (*ex codd. ?*): inmanis P²
58 obiectus] et add. P²: obiectus Spar. ex om. C lapidis Spar. perenni]
ac add. P² ualua] ualuae Spar.: ualida CHRYS (*exc. C*) grauis libra om.
CHRYS bono maiestatis . . . capillos obduxerant (*l. 61*) om. ZEN bono
scripsi cum b: bona CHRYS 59 munere scripsi cum Cb: muneri EGP:
muneris A: munera FO serena scripsi cum Cb: serenum cett. codd. CHRYS
agustae F uirtutes O¹ saluatoris scripsi cum b: saluator CHRYS

pietate, et ad sorores pueri, quas Lazaro crines sparsos per genas tristes 60 capillos obduxerant, eum resurgere posse, si ista crederent, sacratissima uera dei pietas intonabat.

Mox sorores, constipante turba miraculi <curiosa>, eiulatu aestu ieiuniis lacrimarum ubertatibus ebriatae, dei genibus stratu totius corporis miserande iactantur. Heu luctus pius, precum pulsus tenuante 65 defectu, carmine palpitante. Sorores lacrimas pro germano fundebant et hebraeas graecissando uoces, fractis in unum singulitibus mixtas, saluatoris in laudibus expiabant.

Quantus illic, rogo uos, populi festinatus. Quae spectantium turba. Qualis tanti miraculi potuit esse concentus, ubi essent plangentes 70 puellae, mortuus frater, et Christus hominem promitteret excitandum. Conuenerunt, credo, ad hoc spectaculum seruandae memoriae <ad> sempiternum milites, Iudaei, gentiles, christiani, proselyti, clarissimi senatores, nobiles iudices, nautae, serui et omnis pene ciuitas certatim occurrit, ut uiderent an resurgere possit Lazarus, cuius foetor iam longius 75 de sepulchro populos feriebat. Quo uiso, tota ciuitas mirabatur.

Qualis illic eras, Christe Iesu. Quam croceus, quam decorus, fonte

61 Cf. Ioa. xi 23, 26.
Ioa. xi 19, 31, 36, 45.

64 Cf. Ioa. xi 31, 33.
75 Cf. Ioa. xi 39.

Cf. Ioa. xi 32.

72 Cf.

60 lazaro] lacero *G* crine *C* spersos *AFOG*: perfusus *C* genos *O*¹
61 capillas *O*¹: capillus *C* obduxerat *C* eum *scripsi*: lazorum *CHRY*^S una
cum *TUXZ*, *om. v ex R ut uid.* si *om. A.* ista] istae *O*: iste *FGP*: isti *Eb*:
rursus *A* 62 uera] uerae *O*¹: uere *AFOG* et *X*: uero *G*: *om. C* 63 sorores]
et *add. CHRY*^S constipatae *ZEN* miraculi *om. v (sed habet ZEN)* curiosa
suppleui heilatu *AFO*: heilatum *P* (hieul. *P*¹): heilatu mesto *C* 64 ieiunis
C ebrietatae *VX*: ebrietate *CHRY*^S (ebrietate *F*: aebrietate *P*) et ubertate *add.*
FO dei] dehinc *CHRY*^S (*exc. C*) genibus] a *add. Eb* statu *b*
65 miserande et sic *FGP*: miserandae *cat. codd. CHRY*^S et *v (ZEN)* heu luctus
... germano fundebant (*l. 66*) *om. ZEN* praeum *ACGO*: p(re)compulsus sic *P*
66 palpitante *scripsi*: palpitanti *C*: palpitati *cat. codd. CHRY*^S 67 hebraeas
CHRY^S graecissando *scripsi*: grecissando *CG*: grezisando *A*: grecis
sonando *FO*: grecessionando *P*: graecessando *CHRY*^S: gratissando *E*: grassis-
tando *b* singultientibus *C*¹*FGOP*: singulatibus *A*: singlutibus *E* (*sed recte*
singulitibus *C*²*b*) mixtas *om. CHRY*^S: mistas *v (e codd. ?)* sed ipse *Spar. ut*
uid. 68 expiabant] excitabant *C*: explebant *b* (*E habet expiabant sed sane*
posses legere expiabant): compicabant *Spar.* 69 quantus] quis *CHRY*^S
festinat usque *P*: festinatusque *A* expectantium *AGOP*: expectancium *F*
70 conuentus *CHRY*^S 71 mortuos *O*¹ hominem] fratrem *CHRY*^S
72 expectaculum *P*¹ (*exsp. P*¹) seruanda *P* ad *suppleui* 73 sempiternae
b christiani *om. ZEN*: cristiani *F* proseliti *EFOP*: prosileti *A* clarissimi
om. CHRY^S 74 senatores ... serui] nautae nobiles serui senatores et iudices
CHRY^S: nobiles *om. UV*: nautae *om. v, ex RT ut uid.* et omnis ... ut
uiderent (*l. 75*) *om. CHRY*^S 75 posset *C* iam *om. X* 76 sepulchro
sic *scripsi cum CHRY*^S: sepulcro *v (ex codd. ?)* populus *AFO*: populum *b* et *X*
quo uiso *om. CHRY*^S morabatur *Eb* 77 ihu xpe *CHRY*^S dechorus *F*

purior, niue candidior, luna clarior, septies sole candentior. Heu me, quid interrogo quem tunc uidere non merui? Nunc tamen quis quantusue sis pietate cognoui. Ecce inter haec Iesus Christus saluator humani generis fleuisse narratur. Age age Potami, seruus dei uiui, si aliquid praeuales, de lacrimis domini uel pauca narrato.

Flebat deus mortalium lacrimis excitatus et, cum Lazarum potestate sua fretus mortis de uinculo reuocaret, praestabat pietatis officium solacio lacrimarum. Flebat deus, non quod ante se mortuum perissecognosceret, sed quod sororum fletibus temperaret. Flebat deus ut quod homines pro hominibus facerent deus lacrimis et pietate monstraret. Flebat deus cur usque ad hoc mortalitas deliquisset ut discussa de perennitatibus inferos adamasset. Flebat deus quod eos qui immortales esse potuerunt diabolus fecit esse mortales. Flebat deus quod eos quibus omnia donauerat et in potestatem redegerat, (eos quos in) paradiso etiam floribus et liliis sine ullo labore praeposuerat, diabolus docendo peccatum de omnibus pene fecit extorres. Flebat deus quod eos quos fecerat innocentes diabolus per malitiam suam fecit inueniri nocentes.

Heu tenuis aura de caelo, corpus quod rexeras succiduis artubus

81 Cf. Ioa. xi 35.

91 Cf. Gen. ii 8, 15.

78 sole cand. et luna species (sic) clarior ordinat v (ZEN): lana AFGOP (sed recte luna CEb): sepcies FE heu me . . . pietate cognoui (l. 80) om. CHRYS
80 iesus christus] xpc ihu CHRYS et add. domine deus saluator h. generis om. CHRYS
81 flebis FGO narraris CHRYS potami scripsit v: photami ZEN, om. CHRYS serue b 82 aliquid] aliquando b praeualis FG lacrimis et sic CHRYS (daelacrimis O)] laudibus ZEN narracio F: narraito sic E 83 mortalium] mortalibus CHRYS 84 fretus] fletus FGOP (A?) (sed recte fretus CEb) uinculis CHRYS 85 solacio scripsi cum CHRYS: solatio v (ZEN) lacrimarum] lamentorum CHRYS (lamentatorum P¹) periisse v (ZEN) 86 fletibus (sic CHRYS—exc. C—cum RX¹ Ven.): fletus v (cum cet. codd. ZEN) et C obtemperaret G flebat deus ut . . . esse mortales (l. 89) om. ZEN ut om. AFGOP quod] quid CEFO²P 88 flebat (deus) cur . . . adamasset (l. 89) retulit Augustinus c. Iulianum l. I, c. vi, n. 24 (quod testimonium ex ed. Maurina indico) deus] christus Aug. quor GO: quor F mortalitas] mortalis Eb deliquisset] et add. CHRYS (exc. C) discussa] discussas P¹: discussus b: excussa Aug. et C 89 adamaret Aug flebat (deus) quod . . . esse mortales (l. 90) denuo in libro I c. Iulianum recitauit Augustinus, sed etiam posterius in opere aduersus eundem haereticum imperfecto, l. VI, c. vii deus] christus Aug. immortales scripsi cum FGOP 90 poterant Aug. in l. I c. Iul. fecisset CHRYS flebat deus . . . inueniri nocentes (l. 94) om. CHRYS 91 eos quos in suppleni 92 diabolus scripsi (cf. l. 90) et inferius l. 94: diabolus v 93 fecit] inuenire add. U (cf. l. 94) 96 tenus R rexeras] texeras U: rexerat CHRYS (rex erat sic EOP) artibus v cum RTUV ut uid., et P

deserebas. Sed non te pater, non <te> filius aliquando despexit. Pro tua morte factus est et Christus ipse mortalıs.

Flebat Maria et fratre mortuo soror Martha plangebat. Harum ad lacrimas et sparsam crinis miserandi caesariem saluator pietate commo- 100 tus fletus fletibus recontrabat; et quia ipse sororum fletibus mouebatur, lacrimis filii sui saluatoris nostri etiam inter ipsos caelos eius paternitas flectebatur.

Mox ergo Iesus Christus ad sepulchrum Lazari accessit. Statim iussione eius reuoluuntur saxa, secretarium patescit horroris. Curiosi 105 adfatim in specum gementium populorum oculi mittebantur. Ecce uox domini saluatoris: 'Lazare ueni' inquit. Et, ut Christus docet et praeuidet, exeunte mortuo, qui curiosos oculos in antrum sollicitius praetendebant, ueniente foras, expauescente formidine longius recurrebant. Visus est Lazarus tecta facie, manibus pedibusque constrictus, 110 et ad documenta uirtutum ipse se, mortuus et adhuc uinculatus, ut Christus iusserat, suis manibus resoluebat.

Quae, rogo uos fratres, illic uoces. Quae pressura uidentium. Quam curiosa mirantium lumina. Qualis in ceruicibus praeuenientium mul-

100 Cf. Ioa. xi 33. 104 Cf. Ioa. xi 38. 105 Cf. Ioa. xi 39, 41. 106 Cf. Ioa. xi 42. 107 Ioa. xi 43. 109 Cf. Ioa. xi 43. 110, 111 Cf. Ioa. xi 44.

97 deserebat *Eb*: deferebas *V* te *suppleui* 98 et *om. C* 99 flebat
... plangebat *om. ZEN* fratre] ipso *add. b*: fratrem mortuum *C* marta *F*
ad] et *FO* 100 et *om. XZ Ven. et CHRYS* sparsam c. m. caesariem *om.*
CHRYS 101 fletus] e *add. b* recontrabat *sic v sed* recontrabat *ZEN ut uid.*
et Ven.: recontrahabat *ed. Patavina Opp. Zenonis*: econtrabat *G¹O*: et contrabat *A*:
econtrahabat *EFp*: contrahebat *O²P*: consolatur *C* et] ut *CHRYS* ipsa *O*
fletibus mouebatur *om. CHRYS*: *C solus habet* lacrimis flectebatur commoue-
batur *X* 102 filia *F* sui *om. FO*: seu *C* saluatoris nostri *om. CHRYS*
eius *om. CHRYS* 103 flecteretur *CHRYS* 104 mox ergo ... iussione
eius (*l. 105*) *om. CHRYS* sepulchrum *scripsi (cf. l. 76)* 105 reuoluuntur]
reuelluntur *G*: reuelantur *AP*: releuantur *FO (sed recte reuolu. CEb)* orroris *F¹*
106 adfatim *scripsi cum AFO¹P*: affatim *EO²b et v (ZEN)*: adstatim *G* in
specum *om. CHRYS* gementium] gentium *CHRYS* (gencium *F*: gentilium *P¹*)
mittebantur] initebantur *R* ad antrum *add. CHRYS* ecce uox ... longius
recurrebant (*l. 109*) *om. ZEN* 107 inquit *AFGOP* ueni] foras *add. b*
et ut] ut et *P*: ut haec *C*: et *G* docet] dicit *C* et praeuidet *om. C*
108 curiosus *O¹*: cariosos *P* sollicitius *G* 109 praetendebat *O¹* uenien-
tem *FOP* expauescenti *AEFGb* 110 lazarus *om. CHRYS* 111 docu-
mentum *CHRYS* uirtutis *CHRYS* se *om. Eb* et *om. CHRYS* adhuic
O²P uinculatus] uinctus *ZEN et* pedibus *praem., quae uox glossema uidetur ad*
sequentem manibus (adhuc manibus et pedibus uinctus ... resoluebatur *correuerat*
ed. Veron.) 112 iusserit *P* resoluebatur *T et ed. Veron.*: resoluebant *b*
113 uos fratres *om. CHRYS*: dilectissimi *add. TX* uoces illic ordinat *CHRYS*
quae] qualis *CHRYS* praessura *O*: p(re)sura *F*: p(re)cessura *P* 114 mi-
cantium *b*

115 titudo pendebat. Qui fletus, quæ gaudia. Quale murmur. Quam nouum et caeleste miraculum.

Mors uincitur, homo redditur, inferorum catenæ franguntur. Et post quadriduum Lazari lingua mouetur, manus officio praeparantur, oculi suis in orbibus currunt, uestigia gressibus explicantur, auribus
120 renouatur auditus, acies dirigitur in parentes. Cognatio rediuiuis obtutibus numeratur, uox prosapiae currit in auribus. Vestigia saluatoris undique aduersis motibus oscula recognoscunt. Frigida poscitur, non respuitur panis, domus petitur, Christi miracula referuntur. Cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum amen.

115 pendebat] et *add. C* 116 miraculum] *mysterium G* 117 inferorum
scripsi cum CHRYS (*cf. superius l. 89*) : *inferorum v (ZEN)* 118 quadriduum
EO^s *offitio F* *praeparantur P* : *reparantur C* 119 oculis suis] *oculis*
uisus CHRYS et add. *redditur urbibus P* 120 aties *F* *diriguntur*
CHRYS (exc. C) *rediuuiis] recidiuis CHRYS* 121 numeratur] *muneratur*
TU : *renouatur CHRYS* *uox . . . oscula recognoscunt (l. 122) om. ZEN*
prosapie FGO *uestigia om. Eb* *saluatoris] salua sic C* 122 undique]
unde CHRYS *aduersis motibus] aduersus m. P* : *admotibus E* : *admotus b*
oscula recognoscunt scripsi cum ACEGb : *osculare recognoscunt F* : *osculare cogno-*
scunt O : *obsculare c. P* *oscula r. frigida sic connectunt Eb* *frigida] et*
add. C *non respuitur om. CHRYS* 123 panis] *et praem. CHRYS et add.*
necnon et doxologiam om. ZEN 124 *explicit de lazaro resuscitato add.*
*AFGOP, sed explicit de lazaro feliciter RX*¹

Addendum.—M. le Prof. E. Rostagno, conservateur de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne, a bien voulu m'adresser, en dernière heure, la collation d'un manuscrit de la famille *CHRYS* qui devait figurer dans l'*apparatus* : la Laur. Ashburnham 57 (14), fol. 27 v^o–28 v^o (L).

Cet excellent exemplaire, qui provient de l'Église de Beauvais, ne diffère pas, pour l'ensemble, des autres bons témoins du ix^e siècle (*AGO*). Je relèverai seulement une vingtaine de variantes, en distinguant celles où *L* se présente seul et celles où il s'accorde avec un ou deux manuscrits seulement ; dans les autres cas, point spécifiés, *L* a l'appui d'au moins trois manuscrits de la même famille.

6 artubus (*AE*) 19 gurgitae (*sol.*) 57 incisa acrupis (*similiter G*)
59 muneri 60 spersos 63 heiulatu 67 greccissando (*CG*) 69 festi-
natusque (*A*) 76 populus 78 lana 81 flebisce 84 fletus
85 solatio (*sol.*) 86 ut *om. 1^a man.* quid 88 cur] ut *praem. 2^a man.*
(*sol.*) 101 contrahat (*O¹G*) 105 reuelluntur (*G*) 107 inquit
108 curiosos oculos sic *1^a man.* curiosos oculis *2^a man. (sol.)* 109 expauescenti
110 tacta (*sol.*) 113 presura (*F*).

ANDRÉ WILMART.

II

LA COLLECTION DES 38 HOMÉLIES LATINES DE SAINT JEAN CHRYSOSTOME.

DANS la longue série, si bien ordonnée à première vue, des homélies latines qui remplissent les anciennes éditions de saint Jean Chrysostome, on reconnaît, le cadre une fois brisé, trois groupes principaux qui possèdent une réalité traditionnelle.

Le premier, facile à déterminer, mais dont les éléments n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'une étude sérieuse, a été fourni par l'homélaire de Paul Diacre ; il comprend seize sermons.¹

Un second a été dégagé jadis par Dom G. Morin,² avant même d'avoir été retrouvé dans les manuscrits. Ceux-ci, d'une médiocre antiquité et, autant que j'ai pu voir, peu nombreux,³ attestent ensemble une collection bien homogène de trente discours, dont l'auteur serait un évêque napolitain du v^e ou du vi^e siècle.

Le troisième groupe est celui dont fait partie le *De Lazaro* et sur l'histoire duquel j'ai donné quelques indications. Employé, comme je le crois, à peu près tel que nous l'avons, par saint Augustin⁴ et par saint Léon,⁵ je n'en retrouve de traces, pendant le haut moyen âge, que dans un ouvrage du Vénérable Bède, pour une allusion rapide,⁶ et dans divers recueils d'homélies qui reprennent tel ou tel morceau.⁷ Mais

¹ Cf. Fr. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen*, 1897, p. 81. Liverani voudrait attribuer trois de ces sermons à saint Pierre Chrysologue, cf. *Spicilegium Liberianum*, 1864, p. 136, 184-194 ; il n'a pas remarqué que les neuf sermons sur l'Ancien Testament forment un tout.

² *Revue Benedictine* xi, 1894, 385 ; cf. *ibid.*, xii, 1895, 390 ; et *Études Textes Découvertes*, 1913, p. 37.

³ D. Morin a signalé le manuscrit 121 de Soissons, xii^e siècle. J'ai pu examiner un autre exemplaire du xii^e siècle, Londres Br. M., Harley 3015, fol. 2-62. Il donne bien trente homélies : les n^{os} 9 et 31 de Morin manquent ; mais on a, à la place, une homélie sur le Psaume 68 'Semper uoluntatem sustinere promissa implere ita ipsi solliciti uiuunt...' (fol. 35 r^o : n^o 20 de la série traditionnelle). J'ai noté aussi la même collection dans le manuscrit d'Angers 280 (Saint-Aubin) qui serait du xi^e siècle, et dans deux manuscrits de Cambridge du xv^e siècle : Peterhouse 144 et Pembroke 223. Ceux-ci ajoutent 5 discours ; le dernier n'est autre que le n^o 36 de la collection des 38 homélies.

⁴ Voir ci-dessous n^{os} 13, 18 et 34.

⁵ Voir de même n^{os} 11 et 14.

⁶ Voir n^o 6. — La donnée du document du vi^e siècle connu sous le nom de *Decretum Gelasianum* est malheureusement trop vague pour qu'on en puisse tirer parti : *Opuscula beati Iohannis Constantinopolitani episcopi* (éd. von Dobschütz, 1912, p. 32 : c. iv, 2). — Voir plus loin l'*Addendum*.

⁷ Homélaire de Fleury (Orléans 154-131), vii^e-viii^e siècle : voir n^{os} 12 et 13 ;

à partir du ix^e siècle, les manuscrits abondent. J'en ai reconnu vingt-cinq.¹ Il doit y en avoir d'autres encore. Je ne parle d'ailleurs que des manuscrits complets, donnant dans un ordre à peu près invariable les trente-huit homélies que je vais énumérer, et leur adjoignant le plus souvent, dès le ix^e siècle, trois autres pièces notablement plus longues. On rencontre d'autre part un nombre considérable de manuscrits — recueils ou homéliaires — qui font des emprunts à la collection des 38 homélies.² Au ix^e siècle encore, Hincmar en donne de copieuses citations.³

homélaire d'Agimond (Rome, *Vaticanus* 3835-3836), viii^e siècle : n^{os} 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 34, 36; homélaire de Burchard (Wurzburg Th. F. 28); n^o 28; homélaire d'Ottoheuren (Cheltenham 8400), viii^e siècle : n^{os} 12, 13; homélaire d'Éginon de Vérone (Berlin, Philipps 1676), fin viii^e siècle : n^{os} 10, 11.

¹ Du ix^e siècle : Oxford, Laud. Misc. 452 (de Lorsch — copie très fidèle, à en juger par l'orthographe, d'un manuscrit du vii^e ou du viii^e siècle); Berlin, Philipps 44 (de Saint-Vincent de Metz), voir la description minutieuse de V. Rose, *Die Meermann-Handschriften*, 1893, p. 60 sq.; Saint-Omer 57 (de Saint-Bertin); Angers 147 (de Saint-Aubin); Saint-Gall 103, copié sur l'ordre de l'abbé Grimalt; Florence, Ashburnham 13 (de Saint-Pierre de Beauvais). — ix^e-x^e siècle : Paris, B. N. 12140 (de Saint-Maur des Fossés), et 12141. — x^e siècle : Arras 133 (de Saint-Vast); Bruxelles II. 989 (de Saint-Ghislain). — xi^e siècle : Munich 8109 (de la Cathédrale de Mayence); Paris, B. N. 2651 (de Saint-Martial de Limoges). — xi^e-xii^e siècle : Mont-Cassin 288. — xii^e siècle : Paris, Arsenal 175 (de Fontenay, Ordre de Cîteaux, au diocèse d'Autun); Rouen 440 (de Jumièges); Douai 212 (d'Anchin); Laon 302 (du Val Saint-Pierre). — xiv^e siècle : Escorial R. III. 5. — xiv^e-xv^e siècle : Paris, B. N. 1769. — xv^e siècle : Rome, *Vaticanus* 399; Munich 3586 (d'Augsbourg); Bruxelles 1258-1259 (de Louvain); Poitiers 62 (de Langres?). — De l'année 1505 : Munich 10895 (Palatina de Mannheim). — J'ignore l'âge du manuscrit de Berlin, Theol. fol. 112. — Perdus, d'après les anciens catalogues, les manuscrits de Lorsch, Bobbio, Saint-Riquier, Cluny, la Grande-Chartreuse. Perdu encore, presque complètement, un manuscrit de Sainte-Croix de Jérusalem (Sessoriana) du x^e siècle (voir les *capitula* du *Sessorianus* 94, fol. 174 v^o, dans A. Reifferscheid, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum italica* i, 1870, p. 140).

² Je mentionnerai seulement : du ix^e siècle, Paris, B. N. 1771, fol. 1-30 (écriture anglo-saxonne) : n^{os} 24, 25, 27, 31-33, 41; Troyes 755 : 1-2, 42; Karlsruhe, Reichenau 18 : n^o 38, et Reichenau 52 : n^{os} 29, 33. — x^e siècle : Paris, B. N. 2660 : n^{os} 30, 39-42; Einsiedeln 42 : n^o 11; Madrid, B. Nac. B. 3 : n^o 13, et Tolet. 5. 36 : n^{os} 20, 42. — xi^e siècle : Mont-Cassin 12 : n^{os} 8, 9, 11-12, 18, 33; et 112 : n^o 19. — xii^e siècle : Paris, B. N. 12142 : n^{os} 1, 2, 40-42; 17415 : mêmes pièces : N. Acq. 1436 (homélaire de Cluny) : n^o 14. — xiii^e siècle : Londres, B. M. Royal 6. A. XII : n^{os} 1-2, 10-14, 36, 37, 39-42 (la même collection dans Lambeth 145 et Cambridge, Trinity College 79, xii^e siècle, et dans Paris, B. N. 2663, xiii^e siècle). — xiiii^e siècle : Paris, B. N. 1788 : n^{os} 13 et 14; 1934 : n^{os} 19, 36, 37; 2661 : n^{os} 30, 39-42. — xiv^e siècle : Paris, B. N. 2248 : n^{os} 10-12, 14; Oxford, Bodleian Library 2050 : n^{os} 1-2 (au milieu d'homélies de 'Chrysostome' empruntées à la collection de Paul Diacre). — xv^e siècle : Bruxelles 1314-1320 (23 pièces de la présente série); Cortone 39 (8 pièces); Londres, B. M. Royal 5. A. XII (12 pièces mêlées avec des homélies de Paul Diacre).

³ De *praedestinatione Dei* c. 16 (*P. L.* c. cxxv 138), 24 (*ib.* 217 ss.), 25 (243 ss.),

Il paraît utile de décrire avec quelque soin une collection qui a obtenu dans le passé un tel succès. Je demanderai la plupart de mes citations à l'édition *principes*,¹ tout en conservant le cadre fixé par les plus anciens manuscrits.

Ceux-ci, comme je viens de l'indiquer, ajoutent généralement à la suite régulière des homélies trois écrits de saint Jean Chrysostome sensiblement plus étendus : le traité pour Olympias, le traité en deux livres pour Démétrios et Stéléchios, le grand traité pour Théodore. On obtient ainsi un compte de quarante-deux pièces. La traduction de ces trois traités paraît fort ancienne ; il se peut qu'elle soit d'Anien lui-même.² Je doute cependant, à cause de sa longueur, qu'elle ait fait partie, à l'origine, du même recueil que les homélies proprement dites. On trouve, aussi bien, des manuscrits qui la présentent à part³ et saint

28 (284), 33-35 (327, 357, 375 ss.). La plupart des pièces sont représentées dans ce florilège, quelques-unes d'une manière très large.

¹ Dès 1466, Ulrich Zell avait ébauché l'édition du recueil (voir ci-dessous n° 1). Elle parut, complète, vers 1483-1485 à Urach (non pas à Esslingen), grâce aux soins de Conrad Fyner. C'est le 5028 du répertoire de Hain. J'ai employé l'exemplaire du British Museum (1A. 9018, folioté comme un manuscrit, de 218 à 323) : *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth Century now in the B. M.*, ii, 1912, p. 613, et cf. p. 511 ; voir aussi R. Proctor, *An index to the early printed books in the B. M.* i, 1898, p. 160. D'après les *capitula*, le plan primitif du volume comprenait quarante-quatre pièces ; deux ont été écartées en cours d'impression, trop longues apparemment et déjà connues d'autre part, le *De compunctione cordis* (deux livres réunis) et le *De reparatione lapsi* : n° 42 et 43 des *capitula*. Sauf cette omission, c'est toute la collection des manuscrits du ix^e siècle, augmentée de trois sermons adventices, et dans un ordre légèrement modifié ; à savoir : n° 1-9 ; sermon adventice *De paenitentia* (*Prouida mente . . .*), cf. éd. Bâle, v, 900-904 (pièce maintes fois éditée à la fin du xv^e siècle et qui subsiste dans deux manuscrits anciens : Paris, B. N. 14086, fol. 110, et Homélaire de Burchard n° 35) ; autre sermon adventice *De diuine et paupere* (*Prata et nemorosa loca . . .*), cf. *P. G.* lx, 707 ; n° 18-39 ; 10-17 ; troisième sermon adventice (n° 44 des *capitula*), *De decollatione sancti Iohannis Baptistae* (*Heu mihi quid agam unde sermonis exordium faciam . . .*), emprunté sans doute à l'homélaire de Paul Diacre (texte grec *P. G.* lix 485). Je présume que Fyner s'est servi, après Zell, de l'un des manuscrits déposés maintenant à Munich. C'est le texte même de Fyner qui, incorporé tout d'abord à la première édition générale des œuvres de Chrysostome (Venise 1503) et plusieurs fois réimprimé au cours des années suivantes, a été repris et corrigé par Érasme, puis par Sigismond Gelenius dans les grandes éditions de 1530 et de 1547 (Bâle, Froben). À défaut de l'édition d'Érasme qu'il m'a été impossible d'atteindre, j'ai cité d'une manière constante celle de Gelenius, de préférence aux éditions, souvent mentionnées, de 1549 (Venise) et de 1581 et 1588 (Paris) ; elle a l'avantage d'être représentée par un nom. On trouvera dans l'esquisse bibliographique de D. C. Baur (*Saint Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, 1907, p. 148 sq.) la suite des anciennes éditions ; le xvi^e siècle n'en a pas produit moins de vingt. La dernière édition de cette lignée est celle de 1687 (Lyon).

² Cf. C. Baur, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 65.

³ Par exemple Paris B. N. 2659, x^e siècle, et cf. Baur, *ib.* p. 65.

Isidore¹ paraît attester cette existence séparée.² Il n'est donc pas improbable que la jonction n'ait été faite que vers le VII^e siècle, sinon au IX^e. Pour ces raisons, j'ai préféré appeler cette série de pièces latines attribuées à saint Jean Chrysostome la collection des 38 homélies.

Il est bon de noter que, sans manifester un plan d'ensemble apparent, cette collection présente toutefois plusieurs 'sections' assez bien marquées, qui sont le signe d'un certain dessein de la part du compilateur. Par exemple, les huit premiers articles, complétés par le sermon sur Suzanne, se succèdent dans un ordre irréprochable.³ Les suivants, de 9 à 17, semblent aussi répondre à une intention liturgique. De même, les homélies 20-23 se rapportent à chacun des quatre Évangiles dans leur succession normale. Enfin de 25 à 32, on a une sorte de série parénétique.

Les manuscrits portent ordinairement ce simple titre : *Incipiunt omeliae sancti Iohannis episcopi Constantinopolitani*, et commencent par énumérer les *capitula*.

(1) *De superscriptione psalmi quinquagesimi*. Pictores imitantur arte naturam et colores coloribus permiscentes uisibiles corporum depingunt imagines—ut per abstinentiam et bonam conuersationem in hoc saeculo conscientiam puram habentes coronari in futuro mereamur. Per X. dnm n. cum quo est deo patri cum sp. s. honor gloria et potestas per immortalia s. s. a.⁴

¹ Il mentionne successivement *e quibus utitur Latinilas* : les deux livres à Théodore 'de lapsis', c'est-à-dire l'*Epistola ad Theodorum* et le *De reparatione*; le traité pour Olympias sous son titre latin traditionnel 'Neminem posse laedi ab alio nisi a semetipso'; l'apocryphe *Ad Gregoriam* restitué naguère à Arnobe le Jeune; le *De compunctione cordis* (deux livres réunis, probablement); le sermon pour Eutrope, 'Ad quemdam Eutropium cum palatio pulsus ad altarium confugisset' (*De Viris illustribus*, c. vi de la rédaction authentique, c. xix de la recension interpolée).

² Au témoignage de saint Isidore s'ajoute la notice propre au Gennadius du manuscrit de la Reine 2077, VI^e-VII^e siècle (cf. E. C. Richardson, *Texte und Untersuchungen* xv 1, 1896, pp. 72 sq. : c. xxx de son édition de Gennade); les écrits suivants de Jean de Constantinople y sont spécifiés : 'De compunctione animae' (livres réunis sans doute, comme précédemment); 'Neminem posse laedi nisi a semetipso'; 'In laudem beati Pauli apostoli,' c'est-à-dire les homélies traduites par Anien; 'De excessibus et offensione Eutropii praefecti praetorio.' — Il est possible enfin que les 'opuscules' mentionnés par le prétendu *Decretum Gelasianum* soient précisément les trois traités en latin (voir plus haut, page 1, n. 6).

³ Ils ont peut-être été choisis et distribués en vue de l'instruction quadragésimale. En ce cas, nous aurions, jusqu'à 17 inclus, une série liée de discours pour la période qui s'étend du *caput ieiunii* à Noël.

⁴ Pour faciliter les recherches et les comparaisons, je reproduirai ainsi *in extenso* les premières et les dernières lignes de chaque homélie, toutes les fois que le texte n'en sera pas aisément abordable.

Homélie imprimée à Cologne en 1466 par Ulrich Zell,¹ peut-être d'après le manuscrit de Munich 8109, lequel provient de la Cathédrale de Mayence. On la retrouvera dans l'édition de Gelenius (Bâle, 1547), tome i, c. 723-738. Montfaucon a reçu des mains de ses prédécesseurs cette version déjà corrigée et l'a de nouveau retouchée pour la rendre plus semblable au grec ; il en est habituellement ainsi pour toutes les homélies dont l'original subsiste en grec.

Texte grec *P. G.* t. iv c. 565 (d'après l'édition de Montfaucon) Οἱ ζωγράφοι μιμῶνται τῇ τέχνῃ τὴν φύσιν. Cette pièce est certainement du même auteur que la suivante.

(2) *In ipsum quinquagesimum psalmum.* Reliquias hesternae mensae hodie vobis reddere uolo—Pro his omnibus gratias agamus deo et tales nos exhibeamus in hac uita quo possimus inuenire requiem sempiternam cum sanctis. Per X. dnm n. cum quo est deo patri una cum s. sp. honor gloria imperium et potestas per immortalia s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 738-751.

P. G. *ib.* 575 Τὰ λείψανα τῆς χθεσινῆς τραπέζης. Saville acceptait cette homélie et la précédente. Montfaucon se prononce avec fermeté contre l'authenticité. Il doit avoir raison. D'après les recherches les plus récentes, ces deux pièces n'ont jamais fait partie de la série des homélies de Chrysostome sur le Psautier.² Mais le Mauriste n'a plus raison, lorsqu'il attribue à l'auteur—'Graeculus qui Chrysostomum hic ementitus est'—l'insertion, dans le second morceau, de passages considérables qui équivalent à tout le commentaire de Théodoret sur le Psaume 50.³ Cette interpolation n'existe pas dans l'ancienne version latine. Dès lors, rien n'empêche d'admettre que le texte primitif ait été rédigé à la fin du iv^e siècle ou au début du v^e, ni que la version soit due à Anien.

(3) *De psalmo centesimo uigesimo secundo.* 'Ad te leuau i oculos meos qui habitas in celo.' Prosunt nonnumquam supplicia et tribulationum sarcinis animae saepius corriguntur. Ecce enim Iudaei qui semper habebant oculos infixos in terra, qui humilia cogitabant, qui Aegyptiorum et Assyriorum confidebant auxilio, qui murorum propugnaculis tege-

¹ 'Incipit Crisostomus super psalmo "Miserere mei deus" L^o I^o liber primus' (10 feuillets, Hain 5032, British Museum C. 9. a. 6) : un des premiers et plus beaux incunables, pourvu d'un état-civil qui par hasard ne laisse rien à désirer : 'per me Ulricum Zel de Hanau clericum diocesis Moguntinen(sis). Anno dni millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto' lit-on à l'*Explic*. Le précieux petit volume a été réimprimé à Cologne en 1896 : *Chrysostomus super psalmo quinquagesimo liber primus. Nachbildung der ersten Kölner Ausgabe des Ulrich Zell vom Jahre MCCCCLXVI herausgegeben von der Stadtbibliothek in Köln* ; la préface, p. xiv, marque l'importance de la publication de Zell ; l'élève de Fust et Schöffer avait émigré à Cologne, y apportant les secrets de 'l'art noir', après la prise de Mayence par Adolphe de Nassau en 1462.

² Cf. C. Baur, *Der ursprüngliche Umfang des Kommentars des hl. Joh. Chrysostomus zu den Psalmen*, dans *Χρυσοστόμους*, Roma, 1908, pp. 235-242.

³ *P. G.* *ib.* 563 sq., et cf. 23 sq. (*Praefatio* § xi).

bantur, qui cumulo fulgentis auri tuebant, post captiuitatem suam post ruinam patriae omnibus priuati deliciis ad inuictam dexteram confugerunt—Et temptationem prodesse noscamus ut refici quieti possimus. Per dnm n. I. X. uiuentem et regnantem cum patre et sp. s. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 789-791.

P. G. ib. 351 Πρὸς σὲ ἦρα . . . Ὁρᾶς πανταχοῦ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τὸ κέρδος διάλαμπον. Οἱ γὰρ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς ἀεὶ προσηλωμένοι καὶ Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις θαρροῦντες καὶ περιβολῇ τειχῶν καὶ πλήθει χρημάτων, πάντων ἐκείνων ἀπορρήξαντες ἑαυτούς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαχον καταφεύγουσι χεῖρα. Homélie incontestablement authentique, faisant partie, de même que la suivante, de la série complète sur les psaumes cviii-cl. Montfaucon fait remarquer—et, comme on peut le voir, non sans raison—que l'ancienne version est plutôt une paraphrase, qui représente assez imparfaitement le texte original¹; aussi propose-t-il une traduction nouvelle.

(4) *De psalmo centesimo quinquagesimo.* 'Laudate dominum de sanctis eius.' Alius inquit 'in sanctos eius', alius 'in sanctificatione eius'. Aut de populo hic ait aut propter uitam sanctam et uiros sanctos aut propter sacerdotium. Vide liber quo fine concluditur et qua iustitia terminatur agnosce—Et si laudando eum incipiamus, etiam futuris bonis perfrui poterimus. Gratia et misericordia domini n. I. X. et dilectio patris et sanctificatio spiritus cum omnibus nobis amen.

Éd. Bâle, i 793-794.

P. G. ib. 495 Αἰνεῖτε . . . Ἄλλος . . . Ἡ περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐνταῦθα τοῦτο λέγει. Authentique (cf. n° 3).

(5) *De beato Iob.* Verumtamen fratres carissimi intendat caritas uestra quid dico. Quando audiuius libri sancti Iob, percepius quod perditis rebus perditis filiis nec ipsam carnem quae illi sola remanserat saluam potuit obtinere—Videbat quidem et iudicium de se futurum euadebat, praestante X. dno n. cui est gloria et imperium in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 696-697.

Cette homélie sur la patience de Job, la suivante sur le char de feu du prophète Élie (n° 6), une autre un peu plus loin sur le supplice des Trois Enfants (n° 8), sont des compositions passées indûment sous le nom de Chrysostome et qui paraissent avoir une origine purement latine; elles seraient d'ailleurs de différents auteurs et doivent être examinées de près. Ces pièces n'ont laissé aucune trace dans les éditions modernes des œuvres de saint Jean Chrysostome.

(6) *De ascensione Heliae.* Apud quosdam reges moris erat ut si quis fortiter pro rege fecisset in bello et corpus et animam periculis obicere non timuisset, curru atque aliis regiae dignitatis insignibus donaretur—

¹ *P. G. l. c.* (note a): cf. Vattasso-Franchi, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices, Codices Vaticani latini* i 1902, p. 307 (n. 3).

percipietis ea quae deus pater daturus se credentibus promisit. Per X. dnm n. cui est gloria in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 649-652.

Pièce d'une latinité beaucoup plus certaine que la précédente. Bède s'y réfère expressément dans les lignes suivantes de ses *Questions sur les Rois*: 'Vt autem eidem (*soli*) currus et equos tribuant (*gentiles*), de miraculo sumptum esse Eliae prophetae, qui curru igneo et equis igneis est raptus ad caelum, Ioannes Constantinopolitanus episcopus aestimat. Quod enim graece Helios dicitur sol, sicut etiam Sedulius cum de Eliae ascensu caneret ostendit . . .'¹ Le moine anglais (+ 735) doit donc être regardé comme un des anciens témoins du recueil; il en a sans doute possédé un exemplaire.

(7) *De natiuitate septem Machabaeorum*. Quam speciosa et grata ciuitas nobis enituit et totius anni diebus splendidior dies hodierna praeifulget—Potens autem est deus ut praestet uos omnes per eandem fidem ad parem gloriam peruenire per caritatem et gratiam dni n. I. X. per quem et cum quo est deo patri regnum et gloria cum sp. s. et nunc et s. et in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 848-854.

P. G. t. I 617 'Ὁς φαῖδρά καὶ περιχαρὴς ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις: la première des deux homélies authentiques sur les Machabées prêchées à Antioche. Montfaucon prétend donner une nouvelle traduction; on retrouve pourtant dans sa rédaction les termes de l'ancienne.

(8) *De tribus pueris*. Trium puerorum sermo tractabitur quorum fides quali laude intonet gloriae salutaris flammae testantur—Vnde et uos, fratres carissimi, omni fide dominum Christum uenerari debemus altissimum ut possimus indubitanter ad regna caelestia peruenire. Per eumdem dnm n. I. X. qui uiuit et regnat cum d. p. et sp. s. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 839-841.

Commentaire rapide de la péricope de Daniel; l'auteur ne peut être qu'un Latin (cf. n° 5). Il est fort probable que le compilateur a opéré des retranchements.

(9) *De sancta Susanna*. Diuinae lectiones et sancta oracula dei quae insonuerunt auribus uestris nidum faciunt in mentibus nostris—Vtraque enim castitas habet apud dominum meritum. Ergo unusquisque fratres mei pro dono quod accepit certet in hoc saeculo ut uincat in

¹ In libros *Regum quaestionum XXX liber unus* (P. L. t. xci 733 D: *Quaestio XXXIX* sur iv *Reg.* xxiii 11 'Currus autem solis combussit igni'). Le passage visé est le suivant: 'Hinc (c'est-à-dire de l'ascension d'Élie) poetae atque pictores in figuranda solis imagine exempla credo sumpsisse . . . sol enim graeco nomine Helios appellabatur. Vnde Helias uere Helios . . .'—J'ai indiqué plus haut un manuscrit anglo-saxon (Paris, B. N. 1771), qu'il est intéressant de rapprocher du témoignage de Bède.

futuro. Per X. dnm n. qui uiuit et regnat cum p. et sp. s. per o. s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 841-842.

Cette pièce latine est la seule de la collection qui fasse réellement difficulté. Elle complique même le cas singulièrement. Après y avoir longtemps réfléchi, j'adopte l'hypothèse qui me semble la plus simple, tout en reconnaissant qu'on en puisse préférer une autre.

L'homélie, consacrée, d'accord avec le titre, à l'épreuve de la chaste Suzanne, se lit fort bien et l'on n'aurait, au sujet de l'auteur, qu'à poser tranquillement un point d'interrogation, si le développement ne se retrouvait intégralement dans un sermon de *Susanna et Ioseph* publié sous le nom de saint Augustin d'après un manuscrit, aujourd'hui perdu, de la Grande-Chartreuse.¹ Or si l'on compare, tout préjugé mis de côté, les deux textes, l'abrégé du Ps.-Chrysostome et le sermon complet attribué à saint Augustin, si surtout on lit ce dernier avec attention en tenant compte du contexte, on est amené peu à peu à réagir contre l'impression première que le texte du manuscrit cartusien serait une rapsodie de deux morceaux mis bout à bout, l'un sur la chasteté de l'épouse d'Helcias, fourni par le Ps.-Chrysostome, l'autre sur la chasteté du patriarche Joseph, destiné à compléter l'enseignement du premier. C'est, au contraire, la solution inverse qui s'impose à l'esprit comme seule raisonnable. D'ailleurs, le catalogue de Possidius marque bien un sermon de saint Augustin de *Susanna et Ioseph*.² Il est vrai que le texte imprimé parmi les œuvres de saint Augustin n'a pas d'autre témoin que le manuscrit édité en 1586, lequel devait être tout au plus du XII^e siècle.³ Mais les dix autres sermons qu'on

¹ P. L. t. xxxix, 1505 : sermon 343 de l'édition bénédictine, classé parmi les sermons *De diuersis*. Les Mauristes laissent bien entendre qu'ils n'ont eu aucun manuscrit à leur disposition. Ils n'ont d'ailleurs pas ignoré la recension chrysostomienne. Mais ce qui ne laisse pas d'étonner, c'est qu'ils rapportent à l'année 1614 la publication des onze sermons de la Chartreuse (cf. P. L. t. xxxviii 13 sq. : *in quintum tomum Praefatio*); d'où, probablement, l'indication erronée de M. Paul Fournier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, série 8^e, t. vii (Grenoble), 1889, p. xxiv. En fait, ces sermons apparaissent pour la première fois dans l'édition parisienne de 1586 (Appendice du tome x, pp. 355-382 [755-782]) sous cette notice : 'Homeliae undecim nunc primum in lucem editae. Hae e Bibliotheca Carthusianae maioris desumptae sunt, quae quidem sine ulla controversia D. Aur. Augustino ab aequo quolibet lectore tribuuntur, ut et codex manuscriptus nomen ipsius praefert.' La table en tête du volume annonce deux pièces de plus : 'His accesserunt homeliae 13 nunc primum editae e Carthusianae maioris Bibliotheca desumptae.' On trouve en effet à la suite des onze homélies, mais dûment distingués et accompagnés de la note *Non uidetur Augustini*, deux apocryphes que D. Morin a proposé récemment d'attribuer à saint Jérôme (dans P. L. t. xl 1201 et 1203 : *Hodie populus Israel* . . . , et *Omne psalterium* . . .). Je crois que ces deux pièces n'appartenaient pas au même manuscrit que les autres. Il y a lieu de penser que Pierre Pithou et Nicolas Le Fèvre furent derrière toute cette publication.

² P. L. t. xli 20 (c. x).

³ Cf. P. Fournier *op. cit.* p. viii ss., sur la formation de la bibliothèque cartusienne

lui doit sont également authentiques.¹ Enfin le ton du discours lui-même a une aisance simple, révèle une maîtrise, qui sont bien celles de l'évêque d'Hippone.

J'admets en conséquence, et sans plus insister, que l'homélie de *Susanna* du Ps.-Chrysostome dépend immédiatement du *De Susanna et Joseph* de saint Augustin ; puis, que la pièce s'est introduite vers le début du moyen âge dans l'archétype de nos manuscrits de la grande collection latine, de manière à compléter la série relative à l'Ancien Testament.

Il est aussi possible que l'interpolateur ait glissé en même temps d'autres sermons de provenance latine, et ce doute est assurément fâcheux. Nous ne sommes plus désormais en état de croire que saint Augustin a eu entre les mains, en 427, le recueil même qui nous est parvenu. Pourtant, ce fait capital demeure que saint Augustin a lu sous le nom de saint Jean Chrysostome le *De Lazaro* de Potamius, et dans la forme même où la collection des 38 homélies nous a livré ce discours. Dès lors, on peut continuer de croire qu'il connaissait un recueil assez peu différent du nôtre ; la collection primitive d'Anien s'était déjà grossie de pièces latines apocryphes.

(10) *De proditiōe Iudae*. Paucis hodie necessarium est fratres tractare uobiscum, et ideo paucis non quia uobis latus sermo sacerdotis horrescit nec aliam urbem tam auidam spiritalium repperies lectionum—His igitur animaduersis cum omni simplicitate mysteria celebremus et accedamus ad mensam Christi cum quo patri omnis gloria honor uirtus una cum sp. s. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, iii 816–824.

P. G. t. xlix 373 Ὁ λόγος ἀνάγκη σήμερον πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγύπην εἶρεῖν. C'est la première des deux homélies authentiques pour le Jeudi-Saint.

On la retrouve avec sa destination originale—de *V. feria passionis*—mais privée de son titre, dans l'homélaire composé à Rome par Agimundus vers le début du VIII^e siècle. Cet homélaire attribue de même les deux sermons suivants au Vendredi-Saint : *in VI. feria passionis*, et celui qui vient après (n^o 13) au Samedi-Saint : *in sabbato sancto*. Telle était aussi, probablement, l'intention du compilateur des 38 homélies.

(11) *De cruce et latrone*. Hodierna die noster dominus pependit in cruce et nos festiuitatem eius nimia laetitia celebremus ut discamus

et l'activité du prier Guigues. D'autre part, je suis fort tenté d'identifier le manuscrit perdu avec l'article suivant de l'Inventaire du XV^e siècle : 'Duodecim sollempnes sermones Augustini et tractatus eiusdem de pastoribus et de articulis fidei beati Thome et etiam de sacramentis ecclesie' (cf. P. Fournier, *Notice sur la bibliothèque de la Grande-Chartreuse au moyen âge*, Grenoble, 1867, pp. 45 sq.).

¹ Voir la liste dans P. L. t. xxxix 2438 ; on notera qu'outre le sermon sur Suzanne, 2^e de la série, six autres n'ont pas été retrouvés par les Mauristes en dehors de cette collection.

crucem totius spiritalis gratulationis esse substantiam—Igitur domini imitatores simus. Estote namque, ait, similes patris uestri qui in caelis est ut et caelorum regna mereamur. Per X. dnm n. cui est gloria in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, iii 824-833.

P. G. *ib.* 399 Σήμερον ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐν σταυρῷ. Cette homélie et la suivante, toutes deux authentiques, sont, comme les homélies sur la trahison de Judas, des répliques l'une de l'autre, mais sans qu'on puisse cette fois décider laquelle est le 'type'. Celle-ci est cependant moins développée que son doublet.

Un passage de l'ancienne version latine a été compris par le pape saint Léon dans son second dossier patristique, celui qui accompagnait la lettre du 17 août 458 à l'empereur Léon.¹ L'extrait de Chrysostome était préposé à trois citations de l'homélie sur l'Ascension déjà recueillies en 450 (voir ci-dessous, n° 14).²

Cette pièce est une de celles qui ont trouvé le plus de faveur auprès des auteurs d'homéliaires. En dehors de l'homélaire d'Agimundus, où elle a conservé son titre traditionnel, on la rencontre encore dans celui d'Eginon, dans ceux d'Einsiedeln (qui est pour le reste un 'Paul Diacre')³ et du Cassin (ms. 12).

Une autre traduction d'origine inconnue, quelque peu abrégée, est passée sous le nom de saint Augustin dans la série des sermons de *Tempore*; les Mauristes l'ont trouvée à l'*Appendice* et rééditée: 'Hodierna die dominus noster pendit in cruce et nos epulamur ut discamus quoniam crux Christi feriae sunt et nundinae spiritalis...'⁴

(12) *De cruce et latrone homelia secunda.* Hodie incipiamus carissimi de crucis trophaeo praedicare et honoremus hanc diem, magis autem coronemur celebrantes hunc diem—crux nobis sol iustitiae facta est ut illuminati misericordia eius glorificemus patrem et filium et s. sp. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, iii 833-836.

P. G. *ib.* 407 Ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν σήμερον καὶ πανήγυριν ἀγαπητοί (cf. n° 11).

L'ancienne traduction a été imprimée de nouveau par Mai d'après deux manuscrits romains.⁵ Elle figure aussi dans le recueil d'Agimundus, dans les vieux homéliaires de Fleury et d'Ottobeuren et dans celui du Cassin.

¹ P. L. t. liv 1182 sq. [texte n° 18].

² Cf. L. Saltet, *Les sources de l'Éranistic de Théodoret*, dans la *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, Louvain, vi, 1905, p. 302.

³ Cf. G. Meier, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidensis servantur*, i, 1899, p. 47: cod. 42, fol. 249-254 v°.

⁴ P. L. t. xxxix 2047: Sermon 155 de l'*Appendice* ('olim de tempore 130, et post in *Appendice* 49'); les éditeurs bénédictins en ont connu deux manuscrits qu'ils ne désignent pas).

⁵ *Novae patrum bibliothecae tomus primus*, Romae, 1852, pp. 156-159; les témoins de Mai sont le *Vaticanus* 4951, fol. 89, et l'*Ottobonianus* 97^o, fol. 329.

(13) *De cruce dominica*. Quid dicam, quid loquar, quid uobis nomen impono, oues an pastores, nautas an gubernatores, discipulos an magistrōs?—Sicuti ergo praeuaricatio per lignum ita et salus per lignum. Pro his ergo omnibus gratias agamus deo per X. dnm n. cui est gloria in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, iii 836–841.

P. G. t. I 815 Τί εἶπω ἢ τί λαλήσω ἢ τίνας ὑμᾶς καλέσω; Homélie reconnue dès longtemps comme apocryphe.

Dans le *Contra Iulianum*, saint Augustin rapporte une phrase de cet apocryphe, mais de telle manière qu'il peut avoir modifié la rédaction d'Anien en recourant au texte grec.¹

Cette pièce double souvent la précédente dans les homéliaires. On la rencontre dans le recueil d'Agimundus et dans les homéliaires de Fleury et d'Ottobereun; elle est aussi dans un homélaire bénéventain de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid.²

(14) *De ascensione domini*. Quando de cruce nostra processit oratio, foris ciuitatem solemnitatem celebrauimus et nunc, quoniam de crucifixi ascensione tractamus, praeclarum diem et omni laetitia coruscantem fines ciuitatis egressi summa cum gratulatione celebramus—cum debita reuerentia imperatorem suscipiamus angelorum et illa beatitudine perfruemus quam nos omnes liceat promereri gratia dni n. I. X. cum quo patri gloria imperium honor cum sp. s. et n. et s. et in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, iii 865–873.

P. G. *ib.* 441 Καὶ ὅτε τοῦ σταυροῦ μνείαν ἐπετελοῦμεν. Homélie authentique prononcée, à une date indéterminée, dans le Martyrion de Romanésia.

Trois citations dans le dossier patristique de saint Léon de 450, c'est-à-dire le recueil de textes destinés à compléter l'enseignement de la lettre de 448 à Flavien³; ces citations furent renouvelées dans le dossier déjà mentionné de 458 pour l'empereur Léon (voir n° 11).⁴

¹ *Contra Iulianum* ii 6, 17 (*P. L.* t. xlv 685); cf. C. Baur, *L'entrée littéraire de saint Chrysostome dans le monde latin*, dans la *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* viii, 1907, p. 263. — Un autre passage de l'apocryphe est donné plus tard par le pape Gélase dans le dossier de son traité *De duabus naturis in Christo* (cf. A. Thiel, *Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae*, 1868, p. 557, n° 42); mais c'est cette fois une traduction directe du grec, plus exactement la traduction du fragment emprunté par Gélase à un dossier grec du concile d'Éphèse de 431; ce point a été mis en lumière par M. Saltet, dissertation citée, p. 522, 529, 531.

² Cf. Loewe-Hartel, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis*, 1887, p. 374: Cod. B. 3, fol. 302–303 (dernière pièce).

³ Mansi, *Amplissima* vi 967 [textes n°s 12–24]; les trois extraits sont doublés par une retraduction du latin en grec, et, détail curieux, c'est cette rédaction grecque secondaire que Théodoret a utilisée pour la seconde édition de l'*Éranistes* (*P. G.* t. lxxxiii 204); cf. L. Saltet, dissertation citée, p. 293.

⁴ *P. L.* t. liv 1183 [textes n°s 19–21]; cf. L. Saltet, *ib.* p. 302. — Vigile de Thapsee, *Contra Eutycheten* l. v, c. 24 (*P. L.* t. lxxiii 152), dépend certainement de saint Léon

Texte complet dans le recueil d'Agimundus et dans l'homélaire de Cluny.

(15) *De pentecosten.* Hodie nobis terra facta est caelum non stellis de caelo in terram descendentibus sed apostolis ad caelos ascendentibus, quia effusa est copiosa gratia spiritus sancti et uniuersum orbem operata est caelum—Foris arma hic mysteria, foris scuta hic sacramentorum celebratio. Theodosius pater filius Theodosii religione ac pietate insignes. Ideoque pro his omnibus gratias agamus domino per X. dnm n. cui est gloria et potestas cum sp. s. per immortalia s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, iii 873-878.

P. G. t. lii 803 Οὐρανὸς ἡμῶν γέγονε σήμερον ἡ γῆ. Autre apocryphe de la première heure ; toutefois, la mention de Théodose et du prince Arcadius, avant la doxologie, peut n'être qu'une glose ancienne.

Dans le recueil d'Agimundus, sous ce titre singulier : 'in sanctorum xii apostolorum.'

(16) *De natiuitate domini.* 'Et reclinauit eum in praesepio . . .' Et reclinauit eum mater . . .

Sermon prononcé à Bethléhem le 25 Décembre, restitué par D. G. Morin à saint Jérôme et réédité dans les *Anecdota Maredsolana* iii 2. 392, d'après quatre manuscrits de la collection des 38 homélies¹ (d'autre part éd. Bâle, ii 1294-1298).

(17) *Iterum de natiuitate domini et Iohannis Baptistae et conceptionis de solistitia et aequinoctia conceptionis et natiuitatis domini nostri Iesu Christi et Iohannis Baptistae.* Nescio an quisquam ausus sit arcanum, fratres, ante Christi natiuitatem intellegere uel terminasse cursum horarum dierum ac noctium per quos solistitia et aequinoctia cognoscere possit—Migrauerat enim gratia et ueritas a Iudaeis quia 'lex per Moysen data est, nam gratia et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est'. In X. I. dno n. qui uiuit et regnat cum patre et sp. s. per immortalia s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, ii 1285-1294.

La tradition authentique de cet opusculé s'est conservée dans un important manuscrit de Clairvaux, victime jusqu'à présent d'une inexplicable négligence (Bibliothèque de la ville de Troyes, ms. 523, xii^e siècle). Ce manuscrit donne le nom de l'auteur : Pontius

(première et deuxième citations). Au contraire, la citation faite par Jean Diacre dans sa Chaine latine sur l'Octateuque (cf. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* i, 1852, p. 286, n° iv) est tout à fait indépendante de l'ancienne version ; elle peut avoir été demandée à un texte parallèle ; il est plus probable qu'elle est une traduction directe du grec ; en outre, Jean Diacre l'a peut-être empruntée à la Chaine perdue de Victor de Capoue, qui serait dans cette hypothèse le traducteur.

¹ Oxford Laud Misc. 452 (mal daté 's. x ex.', à la suite de Coxe évidemment). Paris B. N. 2651, 12140 et 12141.

Maximus, et un titre intelligible : 'De solstitiis et aequinoctiis conceptionis et natiuitatis Iesu Christi domini nostri et Ioannis Baptistae.'

Le texte du Ps.-Chrysostome, cependant, n'est pas resté tout-à-fait inaperçu. Des érudits modernes ont mentionné la référence au *Natalis Inuicti* (25 Décembre) de la prétendue homélie sur saint Luc pour la fête de saint Jean-Baptiste.¹ C'est, apparemment, grâce à une note de l'archéologue del Torre, que ce renseignement a échappé à l'oubli.²

L'opuscule de Pontius Maximus sur les solstices et les équinoxes — c'est-à-dire sur le parallélisme des quantités sacrés : 24 Juin et 25 Décembre, 24 Septembre et 25 Mars — doit répondre assez exactement aux préoccupations déterminées dans les milieux chrétiens de la deuxième moitié du III^e siècle et de la première moitié du IV^e par les travaux chronologiques d'Hippolyte. Il est en effet, je crois, d'un temps où la date de Noël était déjà fixée, mais point encore fêtée ; il peut avoir été composé à Rome avant la mort de Constantin. Son intérêt principal consiste, selon moi, en ce qu'il donne expression au raisonnement par lequel on est arrivé à établir la date de Noël en partant de la date de la Passion. C'est ce raisonnement même dont Mgr. Duchesne a postulé la réalité historique antérieurement à la célébration de Noël, comme répondant seul d'une manière satisfaisante aux exigences de la situation.³ Nous l'avons ici tout au long, avec les précisions désirables. Une nouvelle édition s'impose à laquelle l'emploi du manuscrit de Clairvaux donnera un attrait de nouveauté.⁴

¹ Th. Mommsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum. Inscriptiones latinae antiquissimae* I, 1863, p. 410, et 2^e éd., 1893, p. 338 ; Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I, 1899, p. 355 ; H. Usener, *Sol inuictus*, dans *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, LX, 1905, p. 465.

² Philippus a Turre, *Monumenta ueteris Antii, hoc est inscriptio M. Aquilii et tabula solis Mithrae uariis figuris et symbolis exsculpta*, Romae, 1700, p. 228 (réédition de Graevius, dans le *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, Leyde, VIII, 1723, pp. 121 ss.).

³ *Origines du culte chrétien*, 1908 (4^e éd.), p. 268 (dans la 3^e édition anglaise, 1910, p. 263 sq.). Après avoir exposé la solution qui consiste à faire dépendre la date de Noël de la date présumée de la Passion, l'éminent auteur fait cette remarque : 'Cette explication serait plus facilement acceptable, si on la trouvait toute faite dans quelque auteur ; malheureusement, il reste encore à produire un texte qui la contienne et l'on est réduit à la supposer.' Plus loin (p. 269), il dit encore : 'Parmi les solutions proposées, celle-ci me paraît préférable ; mais je ne voudrais pas dire que, en ce qui regarde le 25 décembre, la coïncidence du *Sol nouus* n'ait exercé aucune influence, directe ou indirecte, sur les décisions ecclésiastiques qui sont nécessairement intervenues en cette affaire.' Il se trouve précisément que Pontius Maximus, comme je l'ai indiqué, achève son discours par la mention du *Natalis Inuicti*. Mgr. Duchesne avait donc apprécié toute cette question avec une étonnante justesse, sans avoir pris connaissance de l'homélie du Ps.-Chrysostome.

⁴ J'ajoute que le manuscrit 407 du fonds de la Reine au Vatican (X^e s., fol. 67 v^o-68 v^o) donne des extraits de l'opuscule sous ce titre : 'Sermo sancti Iohannis Constantinopolitani episcopi de IIII mensibus ieiuniorum computatum (sic) secundum solarem numerum.'

(18) *De Lazaro resuscitato*. Grandi fratres stupore . . .

C'est la composition de Potamius éditée plus haut et à laquelle saint Augustin s'est référé par deux fois, en 421 et en 429.

(19) *De muliere Cananaea sub figura persecutionis*. Multae tempestates, inquietudo aeris, sed desiderium concursus uestri potuit non impediri; multae temptationes, sed laborem uestrum non dissoluerunt — Et cum redisset domi inuenit eam sanae mentis et uoluntate immo fide eius curatam. Pro his autem omnibus gratias agamus deo per X. dnm n. cum quo est deo patri una cum sp. honor gloria et potestas per immortalia s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, ii 1170-1172 et 1180-1188; cette coupure n'existe ni dans les manuscrits ni dans l'édition *princeps*.

P. G. t. lii 449 Πολὺς ὁ χειμὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν παραγενομένων οὐ διεκώλυσε. Pièce dont l'origine n'est pas à l'abri de la discussion, encore que Haidacher, bon connaisseur, paraisse ne pas vouloir la mettre en cause.¹ Saville admettait l'authenticité, Duc a exprimé un avis contraire, Montfaucon croit seulement que plusieurs passages sont interpolés. Si l'on a égard à la doxologie, on peut être tenté d'attribuer l'homélie au même auteur qui a composé celle pour la Pentecôte (n° 15). A noter aussi qu'un manuscrit copte du vii^e siècle (?), récemment publié, la donne sous le nom d'Eusèbe de Césarée (de Cappadoce !).²

Le texte latin a été encore imprimé de nos jours d'après un homélaire cassinésien du xi^e siècle (ms. 112).³

Une autre version latine ancienne est passée, par suite d'une étrange erreur, au compte de Laurent de Novare: *Multi quidem configunt uenti saeuuntque procellae, sed uestrum conuentum non dissoluit tentatio nec studium uiolauit*.⁴

¹ *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* xxx, 1906, p. 182.

² Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic homilies in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1910 (p. xlix sq., 133 ss., 275 ss.); l'identification a été proposée tout d'abord par Mgr. Mercati, *The Journal of Theological Studies* viii, 1907, p. 114.

³ *Bibliotheca Casinensis* iii, 1877 (*Florilegium*), pp. 17-23.

⁴ P. L. t. lxvi 116-124. L'éditeur responsable est Mabillon lui-même: *Vetera Analecta* ii, 1676, p. 18-39. Mais Mabillon était de ces savants, honneur de la race, que leur probité sauve toujours. Ils peuvent tomber dans les pièges tendus à leur bonne foi; ils n'en tendent jamais à autrui. Dans la circonstance, le grand honnête homme s'est servi d'un manuscrit de Saint-Germain, présentement à la Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13346 (St-Germain 1313-757), du ix^e siècle, où l'on trouve en effet appariés (fol. 49 r^o-80 v^o): l'homélie *Multi quidem* sur la Chananéenne (*liber primus sancti Laurentii episcopi de muliere Cananaea*) et un opuscule sur les deux âges du monde (*liber secundus sancti Laurentii episcopi de duobus temporibus*). [Le manuscrit de Paris B. N. 3138, xvii^e s., qui donne à la suite (n° 2-4): le *De duobus temporibus*, l'homélie *De elemosyna*: P. L. ib. 105), l'homélie *De muliere Chanaanaea*, paraît être une copie faite pour Baluze et basée pour une part (n° 2 et 4) sur le manuscrit de Saint-Germain.] L'opuscule *Duo sunt tempora* (P. L. ib. 89) a réellement pour

(20) *In euangelium secundum Matthaeum* 'Vae mundo ab scandalis ...' Videtur quidem specialiter designare Iudam ...

Ce sermon et les trois qui suivent ont été rendus par D. G. Morin à leur véritable auteur, saint Jérôme (cf. n° 16).

Nouveau texte dans les *Anecdota Maredsolana* iii 2, 373, d'après plusieurs manuscrits de la collection des 38 homélies¹ (éd. Bâle, ii 1188-1191).

(21) *De principiis Marci*. Animal illud quod in Iohannis Apocypsin ...

Anecdota Maredsolana, ib. 321² (éd. Bâle, ii 1249-1251).

(22) *In Lucam euangelistam de Lazaro et diuite*. 'Homo quidam erat diues.' Quoniam dixerat ...

Anecdota Maredsolana, ib. 376³ (éd. Bâle, ii 1306-1312).

(23) *In Iohannem euangelistam*. De Iohanne dicitur 'Fuit homo missus a Deo' ...

Anecdota Maredsolana, ib. 386⁴ (éd. Bâle, iii 423-427).

auteur, de par la tradition, un Laurent qui peut être identifié soit avec l'évêque de Milan (490-512), célébré par Ennodius, soit avec un autre Laurent, évêque de Novare vers le même temps. Ce *liber Laurentii* est attesté à la fois par le catalogue de Wurzburg du ix^e siècle (Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, n° xviii 21), par celui de Bobbio du x^e siècle (ib. n° xxxii 264), par celui de Prüfening du xii^e (ib. n° xcv 11, d'où la mention du prétendu Anonyme de Melk, c. xl); il est encore signalé au xii^e siècle par Sigebert de Gembloux, *De uiris ill.*, c. cxx, qui surnomme l'écrivain *Mellifluus*. On en trouvera d'ailleurs un exemplaire dans le manuscrit de Paris B. N. 2482 (n° 11), recueil xi^e-xiv^e siècle. Or la première partie du manuscrit 13346 (fol. 1-48) est ornée par le *De reparatione lapsi* de Chrysostome (cf. ci-dessous n° 42). Toute l'affaire s'explique désormais assez bien. L'archétype du manuscrit de Saint-Germain devait donner correctement et tout à la suite : le *De reparatione*, l'homélie sur la Chananéenne et le *liber Laurentii*; mais encore quelque lien existait, entre la première et la deuxième pièce, qui rappelait leur communauté d'origine. Un coup de pouce malheureux a suffi pour déranger cet assemblage et créer un cas de supercherie littéraire. L'obscur Laurent, voisinant avec Chrysostome, s'est vu affubler des dépouilles de celui-ci. Je ne saurais dire qui le premier a remarqué la vraie nature de l'homélie sur la Chananéenne. Fabricius en tout cas indique le fait dans sa *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae latinitatis* (1735). Haidacher voudrait faire honneur de cette traduction même à Anien (cf. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* xxx, 1906, 183); mais il oublie l'existence de la traduction parallèle qui, étant partie composante de la collection des 38 homélies, a droit, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, à nos préférences.

¹ Manuscrits d'Oxford et de Paris (B. N. 2651 et 12140); cf. n° 16.

² Mêmes manuscrits.

³ Mêmes manuscrits, plus celui de Paris, B. N. 12141; c'est-à-dire les mêmes que pour le n° 16.

⁴ Mêmes manuscrits que pour les nos 20 et 21.

(24) *De recipiendo Seueriano*. Sicuti capiti corpus cohaerere necessarium est . . .

P. G. t. lii 423-426 (éd. Bâle, v 965-967).

Cette pièce et la suivante sont liées. Le texte grec en est perdu. Tout le monde accepte l'authenticité. Tillemont a rapporté les circonstances probables qui ont donné occasion à la harangue du patriarche de Constantinople et à la réponse de son ancien ami.¹

(25) *Sermo ipsius Seueriani de pace cum susceptus esset ab Iohanne episcopo*. In aduentu domini et saluatoris nostri . . .

P. G. ib. 426-428 (éd. Bâle, v 967-968).

Le sermon de Sévérien de Gabala (cf. n° 24) est entré, au moyen âge, dans certaines collections des discours de saint Pierre Chrysologue et a été, dans la suite, imprimé parmi ceux-ci et comme l'un d'eux.² Looshorn n'a pas réussi à montrer que cette tradition méritait d'être considérée.³

(26) *De ieiuniis et Geneseos lectione*. Iocundum quidem nautis est uer, iocundum quoque et agricolis, sed neque nautis neque agricolis ita iocundum est ueris tempus ut his qui philosophari uolunt—Imitemur ergo et nos diuitias eius, diuitias dico non census sed mentis, non pecuniae sed fidei, et magnanimitatem eius sequamur ut possimus et meritis eius adiuuari per gratiam dni n. I. X. cum quo est deo patri cum sp. s. gloria et imperium in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, i 526-532.

P. G. t. liv 581 Ἡδὴ μὲν ναύταις τὸ ἔαρ. Discours authentique, à savoir le premier des neuf discours sur la Genèse prononcés à Antioche en 386.

(27) *De eruditione disciplinae*. Eruditio disciplinae custos est spei et uinculum fidei et dux uiae ad salutem ferentis quae fouet et nutrit animam ad profectum sensuum et spiritalium magistra uirtutum est—Deus autem omnium det uobis spiritum compunctionis ut percipiat quae dicuntur a nobis secundum euangelium X. dni n. per quem deo patri honor gloria cum sp. s. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 743-746.

Cette parénèse sur la 'discipline', la fidélité qu'on doit à Dieu d'après l'Écriture Sainte, n'a pas de parallèle en grec, que je sache. J'incline à croire qu'elle est bien une traduction. On verra plus loin deux autres pièces (n°s 31 et 32) qui n'existent pareillement qu'en latin et sont de même nature.⁴

¹ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* xi, 1706, p. 170-177, et cf. p. 586.

² *P. L.* t. lii 598 : sermon 149 ; et cf. *ib.* 181 sq.

³ *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* iii, 1879, p. 258 ss., et iv, 1880, p. 792.

⁴ Le rapprochement se trouve déjà fait de quelque manière dans le manuscrit

(28) *Ad Eutropium*. Semper quidem sed nunc praecipue compententer dicetur 'uanitas uanitatum et omnia uanitas'. Vbi nunc est refulgens consulatus ambitio—manum supplici porrigamus ut et nos futurorum bonorum participes effici mereamur per gratiam et misericordiam dni n. I. X. per quem et cum quo patri gloria et imperium una cum sp. s. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 1325-1330.

P. G. t. lii 391 'Αὐτὸ μὲν μάλιστα δὲ νῦν εὐκαιρον εἰπεῖν· Ματαιότης . . . : la célèbre homélie du 17 janvier 399.

J'ai déjà relevé les témoignages de saint Isidore et de l'annotateur de Gennadius touchant l'ancienne version latine. Le commencement du morceau a fourni à Burchard de Wurzburg un des derniers articles de son homélaire, sous ce titre prolixe attesté déjà par Isidore: 'Epistola sancti Iohannis episcopi Constantinopolitani ad Eutropium cubicularium cum palatio pulsos ad altare confugissit aecclesiae.'

(29) *Cum de expulsionem ipsius sancti Iohannis ageretur*. Multi quidem fluctus et undae immanes . . .

P. G. ib. 431-436 (éd. Bâle, v 953-955); le texte grec, *ib. 427** Πολλὰ τὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ κλυδώνιον. Montfaucon tient pour apocryphe la dernière partie du texte grec (nos 4-5), qui manque d'ailleurs dans l'ancienne version latine. Celle-ci offre d'autres traits intéressants, si bien que Montfaucon a jugé convenable de la comprendre dans son édition.

Cette pièce s'est introduite dans la collection de Reichenau des lettres de saint Jérôme, avec le titre: *cum in exilio deportandis tractaret*; elle y fait suite à une autre homélie fournie par notre collection et démarquée de même (cf. n° 33).¹

(30) *Ad Theodorum monachum*. Si fletus possit et gemitus per litteras nuntiari, redundantia lacrimis atque suspiriis profecto ad te scripta misissem. Equidem fleo—Non enim ambigis ex litteris tuis maximum nobis gaudium esse uenturum amen.

Éd. Bâle, v 1009-1018.

P. G. t. xlvii 309 Εἰ δάκρυα καὶ στεναγμοὺς ἦν διὰ γραμμάτων δηλοῦσθαι. Deuxième parénèse à Théodore de Mopsueste (cf. n° 42); en fait, c'est une lettre.

Saint Isidore la mentionne conjointement avec le *De reparatione*.

anglo-saxon de la Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1771. Le rédacteur a réuni les nos 27, 33, 32, et 31, intitulant chaque pièce respectivement: *omelia prima de militia christiana*, ii, iii, iiiii (fol. 8 r°-16 v°); mais le cadre reste bien celui de la collection des 38 homélies: la petite série factice est comprise entre le 2° livre du *De compunctione cordis* (n° 41) et les sermons relatifs à l'affaire de Sévérien (nos 24-25).

¹ Le manuscrit d'Einsiedeln 130, x^e siècle, qui est évidemment en relation directe avec l'*Augiensis* 52, donne aussi notre pièce n° 29, alors qu'il omet le n° 33.

(31) *De militia spiritali*. Bona quidem sunt et utilia regis ad eos qui imperio eius subiecti sunt legum statuta, sed maiora et angustiora illa praecepta sunt quae militantibus obseruanda decernit. At ergo nunc ad militiam spiritalem caelestis regis mandata praedicantibus nobis diligenter attendat omnis qui magnae et supernae dignitatis est cupidus—Viriliter¹ agite o probati milites, currite fortiter cursum uestrum et decertate certamen bonum et capietis aeternas coronas in X. I. per quem deo patri gloria cum sp. s. in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 736–739.

Invitation à l'ascèse monastique; celle-ci convient aussi bien aux hommes qu'aux femmes. Cette composition et la suivante rappellent particulièrement les développements de l'Éphrem latin (cf. n° 27).

(32) *De militia christiana*. Omnes homines qui se student humo tollere et inserere caelestibus quique naturam mortalitatis euincere angelicae conuersationis aemulatione nituntur ut studio bonae uoluntatis angelorum incorruptionem sequentes appropinquent deo: incorruptio enim, ut scriptum est, hominem deo proximum facit: remoueant se quantum possunt spiritu uirtutis a corpore et penitus absistent a carnali concupiscentia morientes quidem super terram huic uitae secundum imitationem passionis Christi, uiuentes autem angelicam uitam iuxta communionem uitae domini et resurrectionem mortuorum—Ipsae autem dominus fabricator naturae nostrae et omnium accedentium² modo languorum medicus et futurorum bonorum dator dirigat uoluntates uestras in bonum et perficiat cursum uestrum in salutem. Ipsi gloria in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 739–743.

Sur le mépris des désirs charnels qu'on attend des baptisés (cf. n° 31).

(33) *De patre et duobus filiis*. Omnium quidem de scripturis quaestionum absolutio . . .

P.L. t. xxx 274 (Appendice aux œuvres de saint Jérôme: *Ep. xxxv*); éd. Bâle, ii 1301–1306.

Ce sermon, imprimé sous le nom de saint Jérôme et sous le titre 'de duobus filiis frugi et luxurioso', est un commentaire assez abondant de la parabole de saint Luc. Il a toute l'apparence d'une traduction du grec. La seule collection ancienne des lettres de saint Jérôme qui le contienne est, à ma connaissance, celle du manuscrit de Reichenau (cf. n° 29).³

¹ *Viriliter*, dans l'édition de Bâle.

² *Accedentium*, dans l'édition de Bâle.

³ Voir la note sur le n° 29, à propos de l'omission du sermon du Ps.-Jérôme dans la collection d'Einsiedeln. Voir aussi n° 27 pour la place dans le ms. 1771 de la Bibl. Nationale.

(34) *Ad neophytos*. Benedictus deus, ecce stellae etiam de terra micuerunt, stellis caelestibus clariores, lucentes in terra stellae propter eum qui in terra de caelis apparuit. Nec sufficit stellas in terra monstrari sed et die suo luce lucente fulgescunt—Accedamus cum corde ueritati suffulto cum pura conscientia ut accipiamus gratiam et misericordiam et auxilium opportuno tempore gratia et misericordia domini nostri I. X. per quem et cum quo gloria patri cum sp. s. et in s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 723-728.

Un des plus beaux discours de Chrysostome, sur la rédemption par le sang du Christ que nous assure le baptême. Le texte original n'a pas encore été retrouvé; on n'en possède que des bribes, grâce à saint Jean Damascène notamment. Haidacher, dans une excellente étude, a établi pertinemment l'authenticité et traduit en allemand l'ancienne version latine,¹ attribuée il y a déjà longtemps par Garnier à Anien.

Celle-ci a été citée successivement, à propos du baptême des enfants, par les évêques pélagiens réunis à Aquilée, par Julien d'Éclane, enfin par saint Augustin, lequel d'ailleurs a recouru également au texte grec.²

Agimundus l'a comprise dans son recueil. Le pape Hadrien I en a aussi rapporté un assez long passage dans sa lettre de 785 aux évêques adoptionnistes d'Espagne.³

(35) *De Turtur*.⁴ Turtur amatrix eremi, quando in desertis degit locis, delectabilibus blandimentis arcessit comparem uocis suae conuallia penetrans—Quod ergo ille interpretatus est nos dubitare non conuenit, sed oremus deum ut et nos gloriam ipsius uidere mereamur in X. I. dno n. cum quo est deo patri una cum s. sp. gloria et potestas per immortalia s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 746-750.

P. G. t. lv 599 Ἡ τρυγὼν ἡ φιλέρημος ὅτε ἐν ὕλαις συγκοιταζομένη: 'incertissimi Graeculi, sed tamen antiqui scriptoris,' au jugement de Montfaucon.

¹ *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* xxviii, 1904, p. 168-198. Garnier (cf. *P. L.* t. xlviii, 300 sq.) et Tillemont (*Mémoires* xi, 395 sq.) avaient déjà soutenu la thèse de l'authenticité.

² Le *Libellus fidei* des évêques pélagiens (iv 10-11: *P. L.* ib. 525) est de la fin de 418; les 'livres' de Julien d'Éclane *Ad Turbantium* (connus par saint Augustin, *P. L.* t. xlv 654) avaient la même date; le *Contra Iulianum* de saint Augustin (l. 1, 6, 22 et 26: *P. L.* ib. 655 et 658) a été rédigé en 421. Sur cette controverse cf. C. Baur, dissertation citée, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* viii, 1907, p. 254 sq., 258 sq., 264, et *Saint Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres*, 1907, p. 68-70.

³ Cf. *P. L.* t. xcvi 378 sq. (*Codex Carolinus*, Epp. pontificum lxxxviii, al. xcvi).

⁴ *De Virtute*, dans l'édition de Bâle.

(36) *Quando ipse de Asia regressus est Constantinopolim.* Moyses magnus ille dei famulus caput prophetarum . . .

P. G. t. lli 421-424 (éd. Bâle, v 957-960).

Discours authentique, prononcé en 401 ; l'original grec n'a pas été conservé (cf. n^{os} 24).

Ce texte fait partie du recueil d'Agimundus.

(37) *Post reditum prioris exsilii.* Quid dicam quid loquar? Benedictus deus. Hunc egrediens dixi sermonem . . .

P. G. ib. 441-442 (éd. Bâle, v 955-957).

Autre discours dont les circonstances appartiennent à l'histoire ; l'original, cette fois, subsiste, bien qu'une erreur d'impression l'ait fait disparaître du volume sorti des ateliers de Migne, ne laissant en présence que la propre traduction de Montfaucon et l'ancienne version latine. On est donc obligé de recourir à l'imposant in-folio du Mauriste (t. iii, 1721, p. 424 seq.) *Τί εἶπω ἢ τί λαλήσω; εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός.*

(38) *De fide in Christo.* Si credis quod 'deus erat uerbum' secundum euangelistae testimonium, credo quia hoc uerbum 'caro factum est', hoc est homo factum est ita ut inconuertibilis deitas permaneret. Deus enim inconuertibilis est—Et cum Philippo audies: 'Tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non me uidistis? Philippe, qui uidet me uidet et patrem, quia ego in patre et pater in me est.' Hoc autem ait illuminans.

Éd. Bâle, iii 421-423.

Ce développement sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ Verbe éternel pourrait n'être qu'un extrait de quelque traité théologique ; il semble bien, en tout cas, dériver d'une source grecque.

Il a été inséré dans le grand formulaire théologique de Reichenau, avec le titre: 'Fides sancti Ioannis Chrisostomi';¹ cette étiquette n'a plus rien désormais de mystérieux.

Ici prendrait fin le recueil primitif des 38 homélies, tel que je le conçois, recueil au total assez complexe. Les principales indications que j'ai présentées au fur et à mesure se laissent aisément grouper. Au point de vue littéraire, les divers éléments de la collection se répartissent de la manière suivante :

1. Discours de Chrysostome dont le texte original nous a été transmis : n^{os} 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19 (?), 26, 28, 29, 30, 37.

2. Discours de Chrysostome qui n'existent plus que grâce à la présente traduction : n^{os} 24, 34, 36, plus 25 (de Sévérien).

3. Apocryphes anciens qu'on peut encore lire en grec : n^{os} 1, 2, 13,

¹ Cf. K. Künstle, *Eine Bibliothek der Symbole und theologischer Tractate*, 1900, p. 15, et cf. p. 56.

15, 19 (?), 35 ; — à noter qu'Anien serait normalement le rédacteur de toutes les traductions de ces trois catégories.

4. Compositions d'origine indéterminée qui paraissent avoir une origine grecque : n^{os} 27, 31, 32, 33, 38 ; — si l'origine grecque de ces pièces était établie, la rédaction latine pourrait encore être considérée comme l'œuvre d'Anien.

5. Pièces latines identifiées : 17 (de Pontius Maximus) ; 18 (de Potamius) ; 16, 20, 21, 22, 23 (de saint Jérôme) ; plus 9 (de saint Augustin).

6. Pièces latines dont l'auteur est encore à désigner : n^{os} 5, 6 et 8.

A cet ensemble les manuscrits ajoutent, ainsi qu'il a été dit, la traduction de quatre ouvrages bien connus de saint Jean Chrysostome :

(39) *De eo quod nemo laeditur nisi a semetipso*. Scio quod crassioribus quibusque et praesentis uitae illecebris inhiantibus atque his qui per omnia terrae adhaerent et uoluptati propriaeque libidini deseruiunt nec spiritalem sensum capere quaerunt nouus uideatur hic sermo noster ac mirus—Et si omnes qui terram et mare habitant conueniant ad laedendum nocere nequaquam potuerunt ei qui a semetipso non laeditur. Per dnm n. I. X. f. t. qui tec. u. et r. d. per o. s. s. a.

Éd. Bâle, v 750-769.

P. G. t. lii 459 Οἷδα μὲν ὅτι τοῖς παχυτέροις καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα κεχηρόσι.

(40) *De compunctione cordis liber primus*. Cum te intueor beate Demetri frequenter insistentem mihi et omni (cum) uehementia exigentem de cordis compunctione sermonem, admiror ualde et beatam iudico sinceritatem mentis tuae atque animi puritatem—Grandis enim condemnatio est sermonem quidem suum componenti, uitam uero suam atque opera negligenti.

Éd. Bâle, v 565-584.

P. G. t. xlvii 393 Ἐγὼ σε ὁρῶν ὃ μακάριε Δημήτριε συνεχῶς ἐγκεῖ-
μενον ἡμῖν.

Nouvelle édition, très soignée, de W. Schmitz d'après un manuscrit de Paris du ix^e siècle en notes tironiennes, avec les variantes du manuscrit de Saint-Gall qui renferme toute la présente collection.¹

(41) *De compunctione cordis liber secundus*. Et quomodo fieri poterit o homo dei quod imperas Stelechi ut anima infirma et frigida compunctionis uerba pariat—ubi cum nullum sit nobis ex sanctorum colla-

¹ Paris, B. N. 2718 (fol. 127 r^o-134 r^o) ; Saint-Gall 103 (p. 399-460), voir ci-dessus : cf. W. Schmitz, *Monumenta tachygraphica codicis Parisiensis latini 2718 ii*, 1883, Hannoverae, p. 1-35, avec 15 planches.

tione refrigerium, aeternas tamen expendimus poenas effecti cibis inextricabilibus et immortalibus flammis.

Éd. Bâle, v 584-596.

P. G. t. 411 Καὶ πῶς ἐνὶ γενέσθαι τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐπέταξας.

Édition de W. Schmitz, faisant suite à celle du premier livre.¹

(42) *De reparatione lapsi*. 'Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum?' Oportunius (multo) nunc a me quam tunc a propheta (dei) dicitur. Licet enim non urbes multae² nec gens integra lamentanda mihi sit, anima tamen flenda est multis gentibus nobilior multisque urbibus pretiosior.—Nec ego usquam pro uiribus deero sed semper animabo sermone semper hortabor et praesentem uiua uoce et absentem litteris suscitabo, quamquam certus sim quod si haec libenter legas alia ultra medicamenta non quaeras.³

Cette ancienne version, l'un des textes qui ont été le plus lus d'un bout à l'autre du moyen âge,⁴ a cédé la place dans les premières éditions latines des œuvres de Chrysostome à une traduction établie par Capito en 1519.⁵ Elle a été imprimée de nouveau par Dom Tosti

¹ Mêmes manuscrits, plus les variantes du manuscrit de Vienne (Autriche) 178 (fol. 204-212), recueil du xv^e siècle. Toutefois la majeure partie du chapitre 6 et tout le chapitre 7 font défaut, la tachygraphie du manuscrit de Paris s'arrêtant après les premières phrases du chapitre 6 (*P. G. t. xlvii, 420*).

² *Vrbs inclita*, dans le manuscrit de Mont-Cassin.

³ *Relegas ultra alia et requiras*, dans le manuscrit du Mont-Cassin.

⁴ Cf. C. Baur, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres*, p. 65, sur le nombre considérable des manuscrits qui reproduisent cette version (le plus souvent avec celle des deux livres du *De compunctione cordis* et de l'opuscule *Quod nemo laeditur*). Édition *princeps* d'Ulrich Zell à Cologne (avant 1470) sous le titre : *De reparatione lapsi ad Amanticum lapsum* (British Museum, IA. 2479). Autre édition vers 1490, donnant ensemble : les deux livres du *De compunctione*, le *De reparatione*, l'homélie *De paenitentia* ('Prouida mente...'), le traité *Quod nemo laeditur*, avec des écrits de saint Augustin et de saint Bernard (British Museum, IA. 2179).

⁵ Dans l'édition de Bâle (t. v 979-1009) on ne sait déjà plus le nom du nouveau traducteur ; la version est annoncée d'une manière ambiguë : 'uiro quodam docto interprete'. Il m'a fallu chercher quelque temps avant de pouvoir établir l'identité du fougueux réformateur (Koepfel, d'Hagenau, 1472-1541, passé à la cause de Luther en 1523). L'ouvrage parut à Bâle avec une dédicace au Cardinal archevêque de Mayence : *Paraenesis prior diui Io. Chrysostomi ad Theodorum lapsum, V. Fabricio Capitone interprete cum praefatione* (petit 4°, 79 pages). Voici, pour mettre en regard de l'ancienne version, les phrases du début et de la finale : 'Quis dabit... lacrimarum? Quod in tempore quidem nunc dixerim longaeque tempestiuius quam tum propheta ille : tametsi multas ciuitates defflere aut uniuersas gentes consilium non est. Animam tuam deploro numerosissimis adeoque amplissimis populis adaequatam dignitate imo multis nominibus digniorem—Haec enim ad iudicium proficiunt, sic mihi quidem usus est. Postquam aliquid uel per alios intelligo non cesso quod mihi conducatur eligere : qua in re si probe auscultas, nihil erit loci reliquis medicamentis.'

d'après un manuscrit du xv^e siècle,¹ et récemment par Dom A. Staerk d'après un manuscrit de Corbie du viii^e siècle, malheureusement incomplet.² Texte grec *P. G. ib.* 277 Τίς δώσει . . . Εὐκαιρον καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προφῆτῃ τότε ἐκείνῳ, avec une nouvelle traduction de Montfaucon. Après beaucoup d'autres, Montfaucon a pu confondre la rédaction de l'humaniste alsacien avec celle qui nous vient de l'antiquité.³

¹ *Bibliotheca Casinensis* iii, 1877 (*Florilegium*), p. 389-411 : manuscrit 152 (avec quelques variantes demandées au manuscrit 143, du xi^e siècle).

² *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benediktiner-Orden* xxxi, 1910, p. 4-36 ; et cf. *Les Manuscrits latins du v^e au xiii^e siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1910, i, p. 23 sq., 302 ss. Il s'agit du manuscrit F. I. 4 de Pétrograd dont la première partie est au British Museum : Burney 340 (cf. Traube-Lehmann, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* i, 1909, p. 193) ; son texte du *De reparatione* finit, actuellement, avec les derniers paragraphes du chapitre 16 (*P. G. t.* xlvii 303).

³ En tout cas, il ne s'explique pas à ce sujet d'une façon bien claire (*P. G. ib.* 276*). Mais Fronton a noté la concurrence des deux versions latines au xvi^e siècle (cf. *P. G. t.* xlviii, 1098).

Addendum.—On doit inscrire Cassiodore († vers 570) parmi les témoins de la collection qui fait l'objet de cette Note. La chaîne est ainsi continue, depuis saint Augustin et saint Léon jusqu'à Bède et à Hincmar. Vraisemblablement, on aura l'occasion de retrouver encore d'autres auteurs qui ont connu et utilisé les 38 homélies latines et leur supplément.

Dans son *Exposition du Psautier*, Cassiodore cite un passage de l'homélie *De cruce dominica* (ci-dessus n° 13 : cf. *Expos. Ps.* iv. 6 ; *P. L.* t. lxx, 50 D sq. [à noter l'addition : 'crux romanorum uictoria']) et un autre passage de l'homélie *De ascensione domini* (n° 14 : cf. *Expos. Ps.* lxxii, 24 ; *P. L. ib.* 523 A). Il recommande aussi les 'deux livres' sur la Componction (cf. *Expos. Ps.* vi, 7 ; *P. L. ib.* 63 D) ; d'où l'on peut conclure qu'il avait en vue la version latine de cet opuscule (n° 40 et 41). On sait d'ailleurs que Cassiodore a intéressé son cercle littéraire aux ouvrages de saint Jean Chrysostome et fait traduire notamment les 34 homélies sur l'Épître aux Hébreux et les 55 homélies sur les Actes des Apôtres (cf. *De institutione diu. litter.*, c. viii) ; voir là-dessus C. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

ANDRÉ WILMART.

I.

THE *DE INSTITUTO CHRISTIANO* ATTRIBUTED
TO GREGORY OF NYSSA.

AMONG the works of Gregory of Nyssa is usually reckoned, by Bardenhewer and other writers on Patristic, an ascetic treatise known as the *De Instituto Christiano* and published in Migne *P. G.* vol. xlv. It is the purpose of this article to shew that the *De Instituto* is not by Gregory of Nyssa, but of much later date.

If we compare the *De Instituto* with the long Greek letter of Macarius of Egypt printed in Migne *P. G.* vol. xxxiv coll. 409-441, we are faced with the remarkable fact that while in their former portion they differ from one another altogether, in their latter portion they agree almost *verbatim et literatim*. The parallelism begins δὲ γάρ¹ and goes on to the end. The first question which suggests itself is, Which is the true antecedent of this long passage? Is it the piece with which the *De Instituto* begins, or is it, on the other hand, that which forms the former portion of the Letter? Now if we start reading the passage which the Letter and the *De Instituto* have in common, we find emphasis laid on the need of undertaking all labours and suffering all hardships without becoming elated with pride. The law of continuity assures us that the previous portion must have led up to this thought. Accordingly we enquire whether the *Epistle of Macarius* or the *De Instituto* of 'Gregory of Nyssa' pave the way for this thought in the antecedent lines. We will take the *Epistle* first. In the preceding sentences of the *Epistle* we have mention of running,² pursuing,³ a prize,⁴ suffering with Christ⁵ and for Him,⁶ crucifying oneself⁷ and bearing Christ's stigmata.⁸ Then we go on straight to the 'philosophic' attitude of life, which is to be humble-minded in all this toil. In the *De Instituto*, on the other hand, instead of the antecedent matter leading up to the passage beginning δὲ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότες, it is made up of various good and sound maxims destitute of any definite appropriateness, which the author finally sums up in the concluding sentence ὁ μὲν οὖν σκοπὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας τοιοῦτος.⁹ Then with the words δὲ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότες he starts, as it were, a new paragraph. The break which he

¹ *De Instit.* 297 A-305 C; *Epist.* 420 C-441 A.

² ἔδραμον 420 A.

³ διώκων *ib.*

⁴ βραβεῖον 420 A.

⁵ συμπάσχειν *bis* 420 B.

⁶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν 420 B.

⁷ τῶν ἑαυτοῦς σταυρωσάντων 420 B.

⁸ 420 B.

⁹ Is this copied from *Ep.* 433 A δέδεικται τίς ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοπός?

makes is particularly unfortunate as there is another only twenty lines lower down. The transition is here expressed in the words τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῖς φιλοσόφως ζῆν αἰρουμένοις ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζομεν. Indeed! Could a third of a column on a half-side of Migne's pages express the aims and aspirations of monastic life ἱκανῶς? On the other hand, if we suppose with the Epistle that the reference is to the whole course of this prolix ascetic letter up to this point, the expression is intelligible. It follows that the whole letter is a unity. The former portion leads up to the latter. The former portion of the *De Instituto* is an awkward affix to a decapitated epistle.

The next point to be considered is the relation of the Letter to the *De Instituto* in respect of that portion in which they run parallel.¹ It is remarkable that while the *De Instituto* gives nothing which the Epistle has not, there is much in the Epistle which the *De Instituto* omits. The omitted matter moreover is not all in one piece. Every topic dealt with by Macarius finds a place in the *De Instituto*, but always in a shorter and abbreviated form. Evidently the writer of the *De Instituto* had a dread of στόμαργος γλωσσαλγία. He was stylistically right. The details befitting a personal letter to an abbot were not of general interest. So he left them out. No one can doubt that the fuller text of Macarius, instead of being an amplification of the shorter form given in the *De Instituto*, is the original, from which the *De Instituto* was boiled down. The pragmatic details of the Epistle are infallible signs of genuineness and originality. To take one instance out of many, all pointing the same way, by which the originality of the Letter and the derivative character of the *De Instituto* is proved, we may consider the passage where the elder brethren occupying a superior position in the monastery are compared to the tutors of children. The following are the parallel texts side by side, Macarius's Letter on the left and 'Gregory's' *De Instituto* on the right:—

Epistle of Macarius.

Migne P. G. tom. xxxiv.

424 B χρη . . . τοὺς προεστῶτας τοῦ πνευμα-
C τικοῦ χοροῦ . . . οὕτως οὖν ἐπιμελεῖ-
D σθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν χρηστοὶ παιδαγωγοὶ
παιδῶν ἀπαλῶν, οὓς ἐπιστεύθησαν
παρὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν· ἐκεῖνοι
γάρ, τῶν παιδῶν τὰς ἑξεις σκοποῦντες,
τῷ μὲν πληγάς, τῷ δὲ νοουεσίας, τῷ
δὲ ἔπαινον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον

De Instituto of 'Greg. Nyss.'

Migne P. G. tom. xlvī.

300 A οὕτως οὖν χρη τοὺς προεστῶ-
τας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν, ὡς ἂν χρηστοὶ παιδαγω-
γοὶ παιδῶν ἀπαλῶν, οὓς ἐπι-
στεύθησαν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων
αὐτῶν. ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, τῶν
παιδῶν τὰς ἑξεις σκοποῦντες,
τῷ μὲν πληγάς, τῷ δὲ νουθε-

¹ *Epistle*, Migne P. G. xxxiv coll. 420c-441 A; *De Instituto*, Migne P. G. xlvī coll. 297 A-305 C.

Epistle (cont.)

προσάγουσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς χάριν
οὔτε πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν τούτων ποιούντες,
425 A ἄλλ' ὡς ἄνηκε τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ὁ
τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαιτεῖ τρόπος, εἰς τὸ γε-
νέσθαι αὐτοὺς τοῦ βίου τούτου σεμι-
νοὺς. καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ πᾶν μίσος κατὰ
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐθάδειαν ἀπο-
θεμένους πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστω (sic) δύνα-
μιν καὶ γνώμην ἀρμόζειν τὸν λόγον·
τῷ μὲν ἐπιτίμησον, τῷ δὲ νουθέτησον,
ἄλλον παρακάλεσον, πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστω
χρείαν, καθάπερ ἱατρὸς ἀγαθὸς προσ-
άγων τὸ φάρμακον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γάρ, πρὸς τὰ πάθη σκοπῶν, τῷ μὲν πρᾶον,
τῷ δὲ σφοδρότερον ἐπέθηκε φάρμακον, οὐδενὶ τῶν θεραπειῶν δεομένων ἀχθό-
μενος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι ἀρμόζων τὴν τέχνην. σὺ δὲ
ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος, ὅπως τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ πρὸς σε βλέποντος
μαθητοῦ καλῶς ἐκπαιδεύσας λαμπρὰν τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν προσαγάγῃς τῷ
Πατρί, κληρονόμον αἰσίου τῆς ἐκείνου δωρεᾶς. εἰς οὕτως ἔχῃτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
οἷτε ἐφεστῶτες καὶ οἱ τοῖτοις χρώμενοι διδασκάλοις . . . τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ
γῆς ζήσεσθε βίον.

De Instituto (cont.)

σίαν, τῷ δὲ ἐπαῖνον, τῷ δὲ
ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων προσ-
άγουσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς χάριν
οὔτε πρὸς ἀπεχθείαν τούτων
ποιούντες, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πνευ-
ματικοὶ προεστῶτες ποιεῖν
ὀφείλουσιν. εἰς οὕτως
ἔχῃτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷτε
ἐφεστῶτες καὶ οἱ διδασκάλοι
. . . τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ γῆς
ζήσεσθε βίον.

We note how the illustration of the *Paedagogi* is longer in the Epistle than in the *De Instituto*. Again, the Epistle draws an elaborate parallel between the art of medicine and the art of administering discipline, which the *De Instituto* omits altogether. In the Letter (which is addressed to a certain abbot of Mesopotamia called Symeon) this personage is appealed to in the second person, e.g. ἐπιτίμησον, νουθέτησον, παρακάλεσον, ἀκολουθεῖ, προσαγάγῃς, σὺ δέ. No such exhortations or addresses in the second person singular occur in the *De Instituto*. Moreover, references are made in the Letter to the spiritual relation of Abbot Symeon as Superior of the Monastery to his disciples.¹ The *De Instituto* omits these personal touches. Whoever the author of this tractate may be, he seems to have said to himself 'Enough!' when he had copied out the main part of Macarius's first illustration, and he hastily closed up with the application.² It is thus abundantly clear that the *De Instituto* is not an original composition. It is a *réchauffé* of old ascetic material. It is not from the pen of Gregory of Nyssa, but must be ascribed to a handwriting at a time subsequent to the publication of the Letters and Homilies of Macarius of Egypt.

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¹ e. g. τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ πρὸς σε βλέποντος μαθητοῦ ἐκπαιδεύσας (425 A) κτλ.² καθὼς καὶ οἱ πνευματικοὶ προεστῶτες ποιεῖν ὀφείλουσιν.

II.

THE TRACTATE OF SYMEON METAPHRASTES
DE PERFECTIONE IN SPIRITU.

THAT Symeon Metaphrastes compiled seven tractates on Christian perfection¹ in the latter half of the tenth century, using principally as his quarry the ascetic works attributed to Macarius of Egypt, is already known to Patristic scholars. The special features of the Second of these Tractates, entitled *De Perfectione in Spiritu*, have not yet—as far as I know—been noticed. They shed light on Symeon's manner of dealing with his sources.

The Second Tractate of Symeon is remarkable in affording very close parallels both with the long Greek letter of Macarius of Egypt and with the *De Instituto Christiano* attributed to Gregory of Nyssa.² In its former portion (§§ 1–6) close parallels are presented with that part of the *De Instituto* which is peculiar, and not common to it and to the Epistle of Macarius. If we take the sections one by one, we find that they keep to the order of the first part of the *De Instituto* (Migne *P. G.* tom. xlv coll. 289 c–296 b) except in one case of transposition, and that they give a *résumé* of each topic. Thus :—

§ 1 summarizes *De Instituto* col. 289 c on the need of both χάρις and δικαιοσύνη, reproducing also the illustration from the Psalms ἐὰν μὴ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον.

§ 2 summarizes *De Instituto* coll. 289 c, d, 292 A on the subject of sanctification being God's will, borrowing also the quotation τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου ;

§ 3 summarizes *De Instituto* coll. 292 D, 293 A, B on sins as being secret as well as open, and borrows the same quotation employed here in the *De Instituto* ἐκ τῶν κρυφίων μου καθάρισόν με.

§ 4 follows *De Instituto* col. 293 c, d in a curious allegorical interpretation of the Mosaic enactment οὐκ ἐπιβαλεῖς ἑτερογενὲς ζῶον εἰς γονὴν ἑτέραν.

§ 5 deals again with the distinction between open and concealed sins, borrowing from *De Instituto* col. 292 A, B, C, D, and employing also the quotations there to be found (1) ἐσκόρπισεν ὅσα ἄνθρωπαρέσκων, (2)

¹ Printed in Migne *P. G.* tom. xxxiv coll. 821–968.

² In order to appreciate this article it is necessary to have at hand (1) the *De Perfectione in Spiritu* (Migne *P. G.* xxxiv coll. 841–852), (2) the Letter printed in Migne *P. G.* xxxiv coll. 409–441, (3) the *De Instituto Christiano* (Migne *P. G.* xlv coll. 288–305).

λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν, (3) πῶς δύνασθε πιστεῦεν, δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνοντες; If Symeon had been adhering with scrupulous faithfulness to the order of the *De Instituto*, he would have placed this section higher up after § 2 and before § 3.

§ 6 follows *De Instituto* col. 296 A, B with its praise of love, borrowing also the quotation from 1 Corinthians xiii 7 ἡ ἀγάπη πάντα στέγει.

No doubt therefore can be entertained that in these first six sections, where Symeon's *opusculum* runs parallel with matter peculiar to the *De Instituto*, he is using the *De Instituto* as his source.

We now address ourselves to the less simple task of discovering Symeon's source or sources in the latter part of his treatise (§§ 7-17), which presents striking parallels not with the *De Instituto*¹ alone, but also with the long Greek letter² of Macarius of Egypt. Before entering on the investigation we may dismiss at once the consideration of § 16 which is nothing more than a paraphrastic rendering of Mac. Aeg. *Hom.* xl § 1. In the foregoing comparison of the *De Instituto* erroneously attributed to Gregory of Nyssa and the Epistle of Macarius of Egypt I shewed that the *De Instituto* had shortened and generalized the Epistle. We have therefore to enquire whether in the latter portion of his work Symeon shews signs of having had before him the longer and more detailed text of the Epistle or the shorter and more general version of the *De Instituto*. We proceed to set down three conspicuous instances where the author of the *De Instituto* thought fit to lop off the exuberance of the Epistle:—

(1) Speaking against seeking worldly glory Macarius³ had occasion to quote three texts, Rom. viii 16, 2 Cor. x 18, Joan. v 44. In the parallel passage in 'Gregory of Nyssa' only Joan. v 44 is quoted, and Romans and 2 Corinthians are passed over.

(2) The *De Instituto* omits a passage where Macarius mentioned that the inactivity of evil was death to the Devil.⁴

(3) Macarius exhorts us to remember God in love when we are eating and drinking.⁵ Our labours will, he says, thus be made light and easy. The *De Instituto*⁷ tells us that for those who love God the labour of keeping the commands is made easy, but he omits the previous reference to eating and drinking.

We turn back to the Metaphrast, and ask whom he followed as his

¹ Migne *P. G.* xlvii coll. 297 A-301 B.

² Migne *P. G.* xxxiv coll. 420 C-432 A.

³ *Epistle*, Migne *P. G.* xxxiv col. 428 B, C.

⁴ *De Instituto*, Migne *P. G.* xlvii col. 300 C, D.

⁵ Migne *P. G.* xxxiv col. 428 τίσις οὖν—col. 429 A καίαν.

⁶ col. 429 B, C.

⁷ Migne *P. G.* tom. xlvii col. 301 A.

leader? In the first of our test-cases (*Opusc.* ii § 12) he quotes all three texts of Scripture, viz. Rom. viii 16, 2 Cor. x 18, Joan. v 44. He had before him the fuller text of the *Epistle*. In the second test-case he employs the striking phrase, peculiar to the *Epistle* ὁ τοῦ πονηροῦ θάνατος (*Opusc.* ii § 13). Our third test-case is equally decisive. He gives an eloquent rhetorical expression to the doctrine common to the *Epistle* and the *De Instituto*,¹ but is careful to prefix to it the words ἐσθίοντας ἢ πίνοντας peculiar to the *Epistle*. The conclusion therefore is inevitable, that in the latter part of his tractate (§§ 7-15, 17) Symeon Metaphrastes had before him the *Epistle* of Macarius of Egypt addressed to his abbot-friend in Mesopotamia. In short, while in the former part of his Tractate (§§ 1-6) he draws from a *réchauffeur* of Macarius, in the latter portion he fills his bucket from the spring of Macarius himself. The remarkable beauty of the Tractates of Symeon has long fascinated Patristic students owing to their combination of deep spiritual experience with a flowing rhetorical style. We now know a little more of the pains which this literary man took to use the original sources, instead of contenting himself with the secondary and derivative material which lay ready to hand.

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THE CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISIONS OF ACTS.

It is a fact quite familiar to students of the New Testament that there are seven short passages placed at intervals throughout the book of Acts which summarize in rather similar terms the progress and happy estate of the Church. These passages are :—

(1) Acts ii 47 b (concluding a summary description of general conditions in the Church immediately after the first Pentecost): 'And the Lord daily added to their number those that were being saved.'

(2) Acts vi 7 (between the appointment of the Seven and the trial of Stephen): 'And the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples in Jerusalem multiplied greatly, and a large company of the priests became obedient to the faith.'

(3) Acts ix 31 (between Paul's departure from Jerusalem after his conversion, and Peter's visits to Lydda and Joppa): 'So the Church throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria had peace. Being built

¹ See *Opusc.* ii § 14 εὐπετὴ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ῥάδια πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐσται, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπης αὐτὰ διευμαριζούσης, καὶ τὸ ἐπίπονον αὐτῶν ἐκλυούσης ἅπαν.

up and walking by the fear of the Lord and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, it was multiplied.'

(4) Acts xii 24 (between the death of Herod and the return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch after the famine-visit to Jerusalem): 'But the word of the Lord increased and multiplied.'

(5) Acts xvi 5 (between Paul's arrival at Lystra [? or Iconium] on his Third Missionary Journey, and his passage through [the remainder of] 'the Phrygian and Galatic region', and on to Troas): 'So the Churches were strengthened in the faith and increased in number(s) daily.'

(6) Acts xix 20 (during Paul's stay at Ephesus on his Third Missionary Journey): 'Thus by the strength of the Lord the word increased and grew strong.'

(7) Acts xxviii 31 (Paul lived for two years at Rome): 'proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ with entire freedom of speech and unmolestedly.' With this the book concludes.

It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the principle or principles on which these recurring refrains were placed by Luke at the particular points in his book where they now stand. Any series of points in a narrative, which on the whole follows the chronological sequence of events, must of course mark stages in the development of the story; and the general fact that the Lucan refrains in some way serve this purpose is sufficiently obvious at the outset. But on what principle was one stage of the story marked off from the next?

We can dismiss the idea that the dividing lines were drawn on the mechanical plan of splitting up the book into sections of equal length. The first division is only about two-thirds and the last nearly three times the average length of the intermediate sections, and the equality of these latter is only very approximate.¹ The disproportionate length of the last section indicates that, although the author in the main body of his work made his divisions of roughly equal size, he did not by any means feel himself tied to a merely formal symmetry of this particular kind.

A more feasible explanation is that the divisions are meant to mark stages in the *territorial expansion* of Christianity. Thus Dr Moffatt (*INT* 284 f.) says: 'The scope and aim of the book is the triumphant extension of the Christian faith from Jerusalem to Rome, through Judaea and Samaria (1^a). The first part (1¹-6^a) describes the origin of the Church at Jerusalem, the second (6^a-9³⁰) its diffusion throughout Palestine, including Samaria, the third (9³²-12²⁸) its expansion from Judaea to Antioch, the fourth its spread throughout Asia Minor

¹ The sections measure respectively 201, 294, 353, 291, 327, 317, and 881 lines of Nestle's text.

(12²⁵-16⁴), the fifth its extension to Europe or Macedonia and Achaia (16⁶-19¹⁹), culminating in the arrival of Paul as the representative of the Gentile Christian gospel at Rome (= *the uttermost parts of the earth*, 1⁸, . . .). Each section is summarized (6⁷, 9³¹, 12²⁴, 16⁵, 19²⁰, and 28³¹) by a rubric of progress.¹ Now the extension of Christianity from one country to another was, of course, a matter of great interest to Luke; and it is clear that each of his *main*² divisions except the first and the sixth record the establishment of the Gospel in some place or places not previously evangelized, and that the sixth division brings the Apostle of the Gentiles for the first time to Rome. But does this give us the real key to Luke's method of grouping his material? Granting that successive sections of a historical work on the apostolic age must inevitably have recorded steps in the territorial aggrandizement of the Gospel, can we say that Luke's primary interest in the articulation of his material was the spatial enlargement of the evangelized area? Several features in the book go to shew that this supposition is inadequate. For instance, the author leaves us to infer that Christianity already existed at Damascus (ix 10 ff), Ephesus (xviii 19 f, xix 1 f), Puteoli (xxviii 13 f), Rome (xviii 2 f, xxviii 14 f: cf. Milligan in *HDB* i 129), and apparently Alexandria (xviii 24 f: cf. the reading of D³), at the time when he first has occasion to mention these places in his narrative; that is to say, he passes over in silence the first establishment of the Gospel in them³—a proceeding which does not harmonize with the view that his *main* concern was to trace the spread of the Gospel from one spot to another. Again, alongside a certain amount of information as to the breaking of new ground, most of the sections of the book devote much space to narrating what happened in places, the evangelization of which has already been explicitly recorded. Thus the second main section commences not with any description of the spread of the Gospel to new lands, but with occurrences at Lydda, Joppa, Caesarea, and Jerusalem (ix 32-xi 18): we find ourselves two-thirds of the way through the section before any new territorial conquest is mentioned. Note also the space given to events which happened at Antioch (xi 27-30, xv 1 f, 30-39, Jerusalem (vi 8-viii 3,⁴ ix 26-29, xi 1-18, xii 1-19, xv 2-29, xxi 17-xxiii 30), Caesarea (x, xii 19-23, xxi 8-15, xxiii 32-xxvii 2), and Ephesus (xix, cf. xx 17-38), long after they had first received the Gospel. From the point where the so-called First

¹ I regard the section down to ii 47 as introductory.

² Οὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου (v. 25).

³ We might add Lydda (ix 32) and Joppa (ix 36-38) to the list, but the evangelization of these places is probably covered by viii 1, 40 (cf. xi 19).

⁴ I omit the first section (down to vi 7), as that is naturally occupied with the early days of the Jerusalem Church.

Missionary Journey of Paul begins, right on to the end of the book, the author is concerned far more to describe the work and experiences of the apostle and his movements from place to place, over old ground as well as over new, than to trace simply the forward march of the Christian gospel, even of that 'Gentile Christian gospel' of which Paul was the special representative. Most remarkable is the setting of xvi 5:— xvi 1 takes Paul to Derbe and Lystra; v. 4 speaks of him as 'going through the cities', presumably those just mentioned, perhaps including Iconium in view of v. 2. In v. 6 he passes through τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, which, on the widely accepted South Galatian hypothesis, meant the region of the province of Galatia which was ethnographically Phrygian and contained the cities of Iconium and Antioch. That is to say, the 'rubric of progress' here comes right in the middle of Paul's visit to the various cities he had already evangelized on his First Missionary Journey. It immediately precedes not the Apostle's departure into 'fresh woods and pastures new', but his visit to Iconium and Antioch, in other words, the completion of his survey of one of his former mission-fields.¹

The foregoing considerations prompt us to look for some other explanation of the scheme of 'rubrics' than the division of the material either into convenient sections of approximately equal length or into stages marking the territorial expansion of the Gospel, though in the nature of the case the author had some regard to both these considerations. It is natural to ask the question, whether the divisions may not be chronological. Mr C. H. Turner, in his careful and thorough article on 'The Chronology of the New Testament' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* definitely treats the divisions of Acts as *periods* (*HDB* i 421 b), and, after determining by independent investigation the dates of certain points in the story, remarks: 'It remains only to adjust, by the help of these points, the division into periods (see p. 421^b), which is the single hint at a chronology supplied by St. Luke in the earlier part of his work. . . . That the chronology here adopted results in a more or less even division of periods—i. from A. D. 29; ii. from A. D. 35; iii. from A. D. 39–40; iv. from A. D. 45–46; v. from A. D. 50; vi. from A. D. 55 (to A. D. 61)—such as St. Luke seems to be contemplating, must be considered a slight step towards its verification' (*ibid.* 424).

Now none of the 'summaries' can be said exactly to mark important

¹ It is therefore not strictly accurate to say: 'the interpolation at this point of the fourth period-summary in 16^b, though no doubt primarily intended to emphasize the great step forward into Europe which follows, marks also a beating of time between the old work and the new' (C. H. Turner in *HDB* i 422 a). The refrain marks the division between Lycaonian and Phrygian Galatia (both old fields), rather than that between Galatia and the as yet untrodden regions beyond.

turning-points or dividing-lines in the developement of the narrative. The passage which immediately follows each of them is not as a rule distinguished in a specially striking way from what immediately precedes it. This fact not only strongly confirms the supposition that the landmarks are chronological, but even suggests that the chronological basis is meant to be more than merely approximate. The strange position of xvi 5—to which attention has just been drawn—lends weight to the hypothesis that the author was attempting to cut up his story into exactly equal periods. The assumption that such is the case must not of course be made to govern investigations into the chronology of the Apostolic Age; but if that assumption is confirmed at several points by independent investigation of the chronology, then its aid may reasonably be invoked to determine other points for which more direct evidence fails us.

With Mr Turner's list of dates it is not possible to get beyond 'a more or less even division of periods'. But his calculations, besides resting on a minute and scholarly investigation of the various lines of evidence, involve one or two assumptions on certain controversial points in regard to which still more accurate determinations seem now to be within our reach.

1. Mr Turner makes no use of the Delphian inscription by which the commencement of Gallio's proconsulship in Achaia is fixed for Midsummer A. D. 51.¹ As Paul had then been at Corinth eighteen months (Acts xviii 11), he must have arrived there at the beginning of A. D. 50, not October 50, as Mr Turner suggests (*HDB* i 422 b). The commencement of the Second Missionary Journey must therefore be thrown back to immediately after the Council at Jerusalem, which Mr Turner calculates may have happened at Passover A. D. 49 (though he prefers Pentecost and makes the journey begin September 1, 49).

2. Mr Turner, like many other scholars, identifies the events of Gal. ii with those of Acts xv and (regarding the fourteen years of Gal. ii 1 as including the three of Gal. i 18) arrives at 35-36 as the date of Paul's conversion, and 38 as that of his first visit to Jerusalem. The great objections to this reconstruction are the difficulty of explaining why Paul in Gal. ii omitted all reference to his famine-visit to Jerusalem (Acts xi 30, xii 25), when his argument made it desirable, if not imperative, that his enumeration of visits to Jerusalem should be exhaustive,² why he makes no reference in the Epistle to the Apostolic Decree of Acts xv, which would have been a powerful support to his

¹ Deissmann *St Paul* p. 255.

² Authors who differ from one another so widely as Schmiedel, McGiffert, and Ramsay, all agree that Paul's enumeration of visits to Jerusalem in Galatians must be exhaustive. Others think differently.

main plea, and how the private conference of Gal. ii 2 is to be harmonized with the public conference of Acts xv. The features of Galatians are more simply accounted for by identifying the visit of Gal. ii with the famine-visit, and placing the composition of the Epistle on the eve of the Council of Acts xv, instead of after it. Two main objections have been urged against this view: first, that there could not have been *two* important discussions at Jerusalem of the question of circumcising Gentile converts, and that the narratives of Acts xv and Gal. ii must therefore refer to the same events; and secondly, that it is impossible that Paul should have circumcised Timothy (Acts xvi 3) *after* writing as he did in Gal. v 2.¹ But the former objection is an *a priori* assumption: as Emmet says ('*The Epistle to the Galatians*', *The Reader's Commentary*, p. xvii): 'As soon as ever wandering evangelists left Jewish soil, and addressed themselves to Gentile hearers, the 'Gentile question' was bound to arise. . . . And the sort of discussion implied in Gal. ii is exactly what we should expect at this early stage.' In regard to the latter objection, the statement that Paul circumcised Timothy is a difficulty² whatever date we give to the act; but if it is to be accepted as historical, there is no greater difficulty in putting it after the writing of Gal. v 2 than there is in putting it after the occurrence of the events narrated in Gal. ii and Acts xv. Moreover, the view here advocated, which not only has in one important respect the powerful support of Ramsay, but has been adopted by a number of recent critics like Weber, Round, Kirsopp Lake, and Emmet, possesses the additional advantages of enabling us to regard the order of events in Gal. ii 1 ff, 11 ff, as chronological,³ without supposing that James, Peter, and Barnabas were all unfaithful to the agreement arrived at in Acts xv, and to identify the poor-relief mentioned in Gal. ii 10 with the object of the famine-visit, and the 'certain from James' of Gal. ii 12 with the 'certain from Judea' of Acts xv 1.

Now Mr Turner (*op. cit.* 417 a) proves that the famine occurred certainly not earlier than 46 and possibly in 47. If we place Paul's famine-visit to Jerusalem early in 47,⁴ and reckon the fourteen years of Gal. ii 1 not from his first visit but from his conversion,⁵ this latter

¹ Moffatt (*INT* 92) pronounces this an 'incredible idea'.

² McGiffert doubts it, and suggests that Timothy was one of those who had received circumcision at the instigation of the Judaizers (*Apostolic Age* p. 233 f).

³ Turner (*HDB* i 424 a) thinks the dispute with Peter at Antioch *preceded* the discussion at Jerusalem.

⁴ Mr. Turner adopts 46 in his summary of results (424 b), but, from the details he gives, early in 47 seems equally likely. Time would be spent at Antioch in collecting the supplies to be sent.

⁵ All agree that the Greek *permits* of this construction, and Ramsay (*Paul the*

event will fall in the latter part of A. D. 34. As the début of Stephen as an apologist, his trial, and martyrdom, seem to have preceded the conversion of Paul by a few months only, we are led to the middle or early part of A. D. 34 as the latest possible date for Luke's second periodical summary (vi 7). That it might be assignable to an earlier date is conceivable, but unlikely, for probably no long interval is to be understood as having elapsed between Stephen's appointment as almoner (which immediately precedes the summary) and his public discussions (which immediately follow it).

The third periodical summary falls between the departure of Paul from Jerusalem (three years after his conversion, Gal. i 18-24, Acts ix 30), i.e. A. D. 36¹ and before Peter's visits to Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea. We do not know the dates of these visits, or of the evangelization of Gentiles at Antioch, or of the mission of Barnabas to that city, which are the next events recorded (Acts xi 19-24). Neither do we know how long Barnabas had been working there before he fetched Paul from Tarsus (Acts xi 25), but we are told that they were both guests of the church of Antioch 'for a whole year' (Acts xi 26). If, as seems probable, this year immediately preceded the famine-visit to Jerusalem, Paul's arrival at Antioch would fall at the beginning of 46. But this reckoning has, strangely enough, already taken us beyond the last event immediately preceding the next periodical summary—viz. the death of Herod (Acts xii 20-24), which is fixed for A. D. 44 (after Nisan 1).² The martyrdom of James and the imprisonment of Peter narrated in Acts xii 1 f are probably to be placed about Passover (see *vv.* 3 f) A. D. 41, only a few months after the new Emperor Claudius had invested Herod with the sovereignty of Judaea and Samaria, and just within the twelve years from the resurrection of Jesus during which the Apostles were traditionally supposed to have remained in Jerusalem.³ What has happened in Acts xi f seems to be this. Barnabas's mission from Jerusalem to Antioch clearly took place some time before the martyrdom of James; but as Luke is now speaking of Antioch, he goes on to complete his account of doings there—regardless of his chrono-

Traveller p. 382) gives reasons for preferring it. Paul was naturally disposed to make the interval look as long as possible.

¹ The mention of Aretas in 2 Cor. xi 32 does not compel us to put Paul's escape from Damascus after the death of Tiberius, even on Mr Turner's own showing (416 a); for, as Von Soden (*EB* 296) says, for all we know, Tiberius may have made Damascus over to Aretas in A. D. 34. But it appears that there may quite well have been an ethnarch of Aretas at Damascus while imperial coins were being struck in the city (Kirsopp Lake *Earlier Epistles of St Paul* pp. 322 f.), i.e. prior to A. D. 34.

² Turner *op. cit.* 416 b.

³ Harnack *Chronologie der altchr. Lit.* i 243 f.

logical dividing lines—until he reaches the point at which the stories of Antioch and Jerusalem again touch each other, i.e. the famine-visit (xi 30). He then takes up the story of events at Jerusalem after Barnabas left, and pursues the narrative of events there (and incidentally at Caesarea) down to the same point, viz. the famine-visit. It is in the course of this latter series of events that the fourth periodical summary (ignored in the former or Antiochene series) is placed. The third summary (ix 31) therefore falls between A. D. 36 and early A. D. 41; the fourth (xii 24) after Nisan 1st A. D. 44 and before the beginning of A. D. 47.

The fifth summary (xvi 5) comes shortly after the commencement of the Second Missionary Journey, which for reasons already given is placed almost immediately after Passover 49. As Paul arrived in Corinth at the beginning of 50, not more than the first few weeks of travel can be allowed to bring him to that point on his journey where the summary is inserted.

The sixth summary (xix 20) occurs during Paul's residence at Ephesus in the course of his Third Missionary Journey. This residence, according to Mr Turner, lasted from Jan. 53 to March or April 55 (*HDB* i 422 b).

The seventh and last summary (xxviii 31) can be placed any time after the commencement of Paul's residence at Rome, which began—as Mr Turner thinks (423 a)—early in A. D. 59.

Summing up we may say that, if Mr Turner's carefully constructed scheme of chronology be modified in the directions suggested by the Delphian inscription and the Epistle to Galatians, we arrive at the following results in regard to the seven refrains of Acts :—

The first falls immediately after Pentecost A. D. 29.¹

The second falls in the middle or early part of A. D. 34.

The third falls between A. D. 36 and the early months of A. D. 41.

The fourth falls after Nisan 1st A. D. 44, and before the beginning of A. D. 47.

The fifth falls a few weeks after the Passover of A. D. 49.

The sixth falls between Jan. A. D. 53 and March or April A. D. 55.

The seventh falls in the early part of A. D. 59.

Is it an over-hazardous conjecture that Luke may have intended to place his periodical summaries at quinquennial intervals reckoning from the first great Pentecost? The Pentecosts of 29, 34, 39, 44, 49, 54, and A. D. 59 are all possible—some demonstrably probable—and one certain—as points at which Luke drew his chronological dividing lines.

¹ For the probable date of the Crucifixion, see Mr Turner's exhaustive discussion in *HDB* i 410-415.

While the limits within which each summary has been placed have been fixed on independent grounds without any regard to the requirements of a hypothetical scheme such as this, it may fairly be claimed that the strikingly symmetrical result arrived at lends a little additional weight to the arguments that have led to it. Further, the acceptance of the scheme adds one more to the reasons which already are usually given for regarding the somewhat strange termination of Acts as intentional on the author's part and not accidental. It still leaves open the possibilities that Luke finished the book shortly after the termination of Paul's two years at Rome, and that he intended to write a third work recounting later events; but it excludes the theory that the original ending of Acts is lost. As the book stands, it tells the story of a period that lasted a little over thirty years—the same interval, it may be remarked, as is covered by the author's earlier work on the life of Jesus.¹

C. J. CADOUX.

'THE LORD'S COMMAND TO BAPTIZE.'

In the JOURNAL for July 1905 (vi 480 ff) and January 1907 (viii 161 ff) Dr Chase argued very cogently for the translation rather than the transliteration of the word βαπτίζειν. He shewed that to the Jewish apostles the word 'baptize' would carry with it no such restriction in meaning as it does for us, with whom the word has no other use in the language but to denote the sacrament of baptism. It would describe the common actions of everyday life—bathing, dipping, immersing, washing, plunging, with the additional notion of purification. The Syriac and Egyptian versions translated it: so did Tertullian always (I think), and Cyprian sometimes.

In support of this contention I should like to add that even the Latin *baptizare* was sometimes used in the strict sense of immersion, e. g. in the *Egyptian Church Order*, which is now believed to reflect the use of the Roman Church in the time of Hippolytus and to belong to the early decades of the third century. The method of baptism is described (*Texts and Studies* viii 4. 185). The candidate is asked 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' He answers 'Credo', and the presbyter immerses him once (*baptizet semel*). He is then asked 'Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus, Son of God . . .?' And answering 'Credo',

¹ Lk. iii 23, iv 19: for the view that Luke regarded the ministry of Jesus as lasting a single year, see Turner in *HDB* i 407 a.

iterum baptizetur. Similarly, on replying to the third interrogation as to his belief in the Holy Spirit, the holy Church, and the resurrection of the flesh, for the third time he is immersed (*tertia vice baptizetur*). Here, obviously, one cannot transliterate, for that would involve a triple repetition of the sacrament: we must translate.

To the interesting note on the passive form of the verb employed in the ritual words in the Eastern rite of baptism (*J. T. S.* vi 506) there may now be added from Narsai *Hom.* xxi (C) 'Such an one is baptized in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. And he does not say "I baptize", but "is baptized"; for it is not he that baptizes, but the power that is set in the Names. The Names give forgiveness of iniquity, not a man, and they sow new life in mortality. In their Name he that is baptized is baptized (and buried) as in a tomb; and they call and raise him up from his death' (*Texts and Studies* viii 1. 51; compare similar language on the 'signing', page 44).

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

NOTES ON THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ST PATRICK.

It is usually held that St Patrick was a man of little or no literary culture. In his valuable monograph on the saint, Prof. Bury tells us (*Life of St Patrick*, 1905, p. 206) that 'his Latin is as "rustic" as the Greek of St Mark and St Matthew. He was a *homo unius libri*; but with that book, the Christian Scriptures, he was extraordinarily familiar. His writings are crowded with Scriptural sentences and phrases, most of them probably quoted from memory.' The same statement is made by Dr Gwynn (*The Book of Armagh*, 1913, p. lxxxix): 'The Latin Bible was not improbably the only Latin book with which he was familiar'; and similar views have been expressed by Dottin (*Les Livres de Saint Patrice*, Paris, 1908, p. 11) and other writers.

I find it difficult to believe that a man who had spent many years studying at Lérins and at Auxerre (Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 294, 296, 338) should have been so ignorant as to have read only one book, and Dr F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock is evidently of the same opinion, for he has attempted to prove (*Hermathena*, vol. xiv, no. 32, 1906, pp. 168-182; *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 1914, pp. 348-356; *St Patrick and his Gallic Friends*, 1916, p. 138) that Patrick in his 'Confession' and 'Epistle' was influenced in the matter of creed-like expressions, biblical quotations, and style, not only by the Latin translation of the treatise

of Irenaeus *Against the Heresies*, but also possibly (*St Patrick and his Gallic Friends*, pp. 110, 134) by Orientius and by Hilary of Arles. Dr Hitchcock's parallels are not very convincing; but there is one writer from whom Patrick undoubtedly did borrow, namely Victorinus of Pettau in Styria, who lived at the close of the third century, and is termed by Schanz (*Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Teil 3, Aufl. 2, 1905, pp. 437-439) 'the oldest exegete of the Latin church'. Patrick's indebtedness to the Commentary of Victorinus on the Apocalypse was first pointed out by Kattenbusch in his monumental work *Das apostolische Symbol*, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 188, 213, 395. A few years later the direct dependence of Patrick on Victorinus was strikingly demonstrated by Johannes Haussleiter in an able review of Bardenhewer's *Patrologie* published in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* for May 1898, pp. 369-371. Thus Patrick was not a *homo unius libri*.

It is certainly a remarkable fact that the discovery of Kattenbusch and Haussleiter should have passed entirely unnoticed by Messrs Bury, Gwynn, Hitchcock, Newport White, and others who have busied themselves in recent years with the literary history of the Apostle of Ireland.

As a consequence of his demonstration of the indebtedness of Patrick to the Commentary of Victorinus, Haussleiter raises the question of the authenticity of the *Confessio* in the following terms (*loc. cit.*, p. 371):—

'Es mag nun fraglich sein, ob dies von Patricius selbst ausgesagt werden kann; es mag die *Confessio* späteren Ursprungs sein—jedenfalls ist der Verfasser auf dem Boden der Inselreiche zu suchen. Nur darauf kommt es uns hier an. Man hat jenseits des Kanals frühzeitig den Victorinus gekannt. Möge die darauf gebaute Hoffnung, dass eine Handschrift der guten Sorte sich dort wird finden lassen, in baldige Erfüllung gehen!'

Haussleiter is not the only scholar who in recent years has questioned the authenticity of the two Latin tracts passing under the name of Patrick. M. Roger in his remarkable and penetrating thesis, *L'Enseignement des Lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, Paris, 1905, pp. 218-222, has devoted several pages to St Patrick. In his opinion the *Confessio* and *Epistola* are possibly genuine, 'but the text has been interpolated' (*op. cit.*, p. 221). M. l'abbé C. Narbey (*Supplément aux Acta Sanctorum*, t. 2, 1912, pp. 449-450) goes further still and denies the authenticity of the *Confessio*. His arguments are worth quoting in full (*op. cit.*, p. 449):—

'Saint Patrice écrivit peut-être sa *Confession* . . . mais le texte qui a été publié, ne saurait être sa composition. En effet, au commencement, il affirme que son aïeul était prêtre, et que son père était diacre. Plus loin, racontant sa captivité, il déclare qu'il avait alors plus de seize

ans, et qu'il ne connaissait pas le vrai Dieu . . . Il est impossible que son aieul étant prêtre, et son père étant diacre, ne l'aient pas fait baptiser, et ne l'aient pas instruit des principales vérités de la religion chrétienne. Il y a là des faussetés, qui ne sont pas tombées de la plume de saint Patrice.'

He then proceeds to point out that the Biblical citations in the first part of the *Confessio* are in general in agreement with the Old-Latin versions, whereas those in the second part come in general from the Vulgate, and ends (p. 450) with the words: 'Ainsi l'on ne saurait admettre que cette Confession de saint Patrice soit son œuvre. Elle est une amplification tardive de celle qu'il avait pu faire.'

M. Narbey's statement with regard to the Biblical citations seems to be open to question.

An incident in Patrick's history which has given rise to much controversy is his supposed visit to Rome. Prof. Bury (*op. cit.*, p. 367) accepts it as historical; M. Roger (*op. cit.*, p. 219 n.), on the other hand, dismisses it as 'évidemment légendaire', and Dr Montgomery Hitchcock (*Journal of Theological Studies* viii, 1907, p. 94) is of the same opinion. The view of Messrs Roger and Hitchcock would seem to be the more probable.

It may not be out of place to conclude with some words on the nature of the Latinity of St Patrick—assuming, of course, that the *Confessio* and *Epistola* are authentic. Prof. Bury (*op. cit.*, p. 197) tells us that the *Confessio* was written in Patrick's old age. We should, therefore, have before us a specimen of the Latinity of the middle of the fifth century. In general, as M. Roger (*op. cit.*, pp. 221–222) points out, the vocabulary is that of the Scriptures and of the ecclesiastical writers. There is no trace of classical influence. Rare or unusual words in the *Confessio*—I quote always from the excellent critical edition of Dr Newport White (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 25, Section C, 1905, pp. 201, 542)—are:

inenarrabiliter (4), a word quoted by Forcellini (ed. Corradini, 4 vols., Padua, 1864–1890) once from Cassiodorus: *ratum* (11), used as substantive; Du Cange cites this word in the sense *deliberatum, constitutum* from a legal document of 965 A. D.: *dominicati* (13), Du Cange gives *dominicare* in the sense *possidere proprietario iure*, and also the adjective *dominicus*, -a, -um, meaning *ad dominum pertinens*: *exgallias* (*exgaleas* or *exgallias*, 14), apparently a corruption of *exagellas*; the only instance of this word cited by Forcellini is from Ennodius (ed. Vogel, 1885, p. 108, 14, cf. p. 382), where the best MS reads *exagelliam* (cf. Dubois, *La Latinité d'Ennodius*, Paris, 1903, p. 128); the statement of Du Cange that *exagella* is used by Zeno Veronensis is erroneous; the word has been variously emended and explained (cf. Hitchcock,

Journal of Theological Studies viii, 1907, p. 94): *grauitudinem* (20), this word is translated *weight* by Dr White, but surely it means *pain, sickness*, as a reference to Georges (*Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 7^e Aufl., 2 vols., 1879-1880) will show (at the commencement of the chapter Dr White's punctuation and translation seem to be at fault; should we not place a comma after *corpore* and translate 'and he (i.e. Satan) fell upon me like a huge rock'?): *efficiatus* (24, 25), St Patrick appears, as suggested by Dr Gwynn, to have coined the word *efficior*, 'affirm' as the opposite of *inficior* (*infictior*), 'deny': *scriptulae* (50), the form *scriptula* for *scriptulum*, a scruple, does not occur in any dictionary: *modicitatem* (50), this word is cited once from Venantius Fortunatus by Forcellini and Georges.

In the *Epistola* :—

crismati (3), in the great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* now in course of publication in Germany the verb *chrismare* is cited from only two authors—Gregory of Tours and Eugenius Toletanus; but as Patrick wrote over a century before Gregory, it is remarkable that he should have been overlooked by the compilers of the *Thesaurus*: *rebellatores* (19), this word is found in neither Forcellini, Georges, nor Du Cange; the feminine, *rebellatrix*, is in the lexicons.

To the vocabulary of late and ecclesiastical Latin belong, in the *Confessio* :—

contemptibilis, incredulitas, rememoror, correptio, ingenuus, spiritualiter, praesumptio, fiducialiter, tegoriotum (for *lugariotum*), *honorifico, gaudibundus, episcopatus, conculcatio, pressura, indubitabilis, incunctanter, inproperium, ultroneus, scandalizo, perennitas*.

In the *Epistola* :—

dilectio, daemonium, neofitus, zabulus, persecutio, elemosina, coinquinare, ineffabilis, iocundare, apostata, intimare.

The following orthographic peculiarities which appear in Dr White's text are probably in part merely scribal errors :—

Confessio :—*alenigenas, dilicta, missertus, adoliscencia, consulatus, dedici, motarunt, caepi, disertum, aeuanguelio, aepistolis, nissi, baptizarent, indigentem, dissiderantem, diliciae*, etc.

Epistola : the orthography is normal throughout. A future editor will doubtless remove from his text of the *Confessio* the numerous capricious spellings of MS A which Dr White has retained.

With regard to proper names, we may notice the mysterious *Bannauem Taberniae* which the compilers of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* have omitted to register, and the forms *Hiberione, Hiberionacum*. The spelling *Hiberia* (*Epist.* 16) is probably a scribal blunder.

In general one may say with M. Roger (*op. cit.*, pp. 221-222) that the Latinity of the *Confessio* and *Epistola* is that of a man who has a

competent knowledge of ecclesiastical Latin. There is nothing whatever to justify the assertion that Patrick was a *homo unius libri*. His forms are correct and his syntax is not more irregular than that of the writers of his time who were his models. His 'rusticity' appears in the general turn of phrase, in the difficulty of expressing any idea in the least bit complicated, and in the careless usage of conjunctions and pronouns. He is at times incoherent, as, for example, when he attempts to reply to the attacks directed against him. His *Letter against Coroticus* is, as a piece of eloquence, a complete failure, due to his ignorance of even the most elementary devices of rhetoric.

Before leaving the subject of St Patrick, it may be well to call attention to a misleading statement of Prof. Bury's on the subject of the fourth Latin *Vita Patricii*. In *Hermathena* (xii, 1902, p. 186 n.) he tells us that 'for the text of V₄ I have made use of a MS preserved in the British Museum, Stowe 1054'. A number of passages and variants from this MS are given. In his *Life of Patrick* (p. 269 n.) he cites the MS as 'Stowe 105 A'. On turning to the official *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols., London, 1895-1896, one finds that 1054 does not contain V₄ and that 105 A is non-existent. Prof. Bury informs me that he cannot now clear up this discrepancy. There is in the British Museum a twelfth-century copy of this *Vita Patricii*; it is numbered Additional 19890. Possibly this was the MS employed by Prof. Bury.

M. ESPOSITO.

SALATHIEL QUI ET ESDRAS.

SINCE I raised the question implied in the above title in this JOURNAL (xviii 1917, p. 167) I have come upon a piece of fresh evidence as to the identity of these persons.

It is in the tract of Epiphanius *de xii gemmis* which we have only in an imperfect Latin version preserved in a collection of papal and other letters known as the *Collectio Avellana*. The MS tradition depends on Vat. lat. 3787 of the eleventh century. The last edition is in the Vienna Corpus by Günther (xxxv p. 770: Dindorf iv 1. 212).

Epiphanius is telling at great length the story of the Cuthaeans or 'Samaritans', deported into Palestine, which we have in 2 Kings xvii. He also tells it in the *Panarion* (*Haer.* viii 8): in both places he uses some non-Biblical source.

The Assyrian king (Nebuchadnezzar in the *Panarion*, not named in *de gemmis*) asked the Jewish elders (who were then at Babylon *cum Hesdra sacerdote*) how it was that the Israelites had managed to live in their land, because the Cuthaeans &c. whom he had deported thither were being ravaged by wild beasts and were petitioning to be allowed to leave the country. The elders replied that no one could live there but those who kept the law of God: 'qui (rex) cum poposcisset ab eis legem, ei protinus obtulerunt. ipse uero reddens exemplaria legis authentica penes se detinuit, quae direxit incolis et habitatoribus terrae Cudaeis et Cuthaeis ac reliquis cum Hesdra sacerdote (*non Hesdra illo qui uocabatur Salathiel, cuius erat pater Zorobabel, qui Zorobabel erat filius Iechoniae*). hic igitur Hesdras quem diximus ascendens Hierosolymam penta-teuchum tantummodo . . . detulit eis,' etc. .

The *Panarion* (see below) has not the parenthesis which I have italicized.

The priest who brings the law to the colonists and is here called Esdras, is not named in the Bible. Other writers who call him Esdras are Theophanes Cerameus (hom. 38) who certainly copies Epiphanius, Cedrenus i 188 (Paris) who may do so, Damascenus *Haer.* who epitomizes Epiphanius. Rabbinic tradition gives other names.

But the parenthesis in Epiphanius is the important thing. It is a hitherto unnoticed confirmation of 4 Esdras iii 1 'ego Salathiel qui et Esdras'.

Is it independent of 4 Esdras? Epiphanius certainly shews no knowledge of that book elsewhere. He does not allude to the miraculous

restoration of the Scriptures by Esdras, as many Fathers do : and here he does not describe Esdras as a prophet, which would have been the obvious thing to do had 4 Esdras been his source. As far as the argument from silence goes, one must say yes to the question. It is not beside the mark to note that there are but three known quotations from 4 Esdras in Greek, and only one of these names its source.

Of course he has introduced confusion into his statements, or it would not be Epiphanius. He makes Esdras-Salathiel the son of Zorobabel, whereas Z. is everywhere else the son or nephew of S.¹ Yet we must remember before condemning him that we have his words only in a bad Latin version. The Greek may have been misunderstood. Such words as μετὰ Ἑσδρα τοῦ ἱερέως, οὗτοι ἐκείνου τοῦ Ἑσδρα τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος Σαλαθιήλ, τοῦ καὶ πατρός τοῦ Ζοροβαβέλ, τοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ Ἰεχονίου, which represent the correct traditional view, might easily be wrested by a stupid man into what we have. I do not insist upon this, however : it does not affect the main point, which is that Epiphanius, who seems not to know 4 Esdras, agrees with it in identifying Esdras with Salathiel. He supplies a new ground for believing that the identification was not invented by the writer of 4 Esdras but was a current notion adopted by him. He confirms my suspicion that the 'Assir, Salathiel' of 1 Chr. iii 17 was indeed interpreted (regardless of philology) as equivalent to 'Ezra, Salathiel'.

Before I try to emphasize the importance of this, I will quote another passage of Epiphanius (*Haer.* viii 8) treating of the same matter as the *de gemmis*.

οἱ δὲ (the Jewish elder) ἀφθόγως δεδοκότες μετὰ καὶ τοῦ νόμον Ἑσδραν τινὰ ἱερέα ἀποστέλλουσι παιδευτὴν τοῦ νόμου ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος, πρὸς τὸ παιδεῦσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ καθεσθέντας Ἀσσυρίους . . . γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω τῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ αἰχμαλωσίας. ἐπαίδευε τοίνυν Ἑσδρας καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος τὸ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καὶ ἐκλήθησαν Σαμαρεῖται οἱ τὸν νόμον διὰ τοῦ Ἑσδρα τοῦ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἤκοντος ὑποδεξάμενοι. διήλθε δὲ χρόνος ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἄλλων, καὶ ἡ αἰχμαλώσια ἀνείθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος, 'Mirifica rerum temporumque perturbatio!' says Petavius *in loc.*, doubtless with reason : but the interest for me lies in the underlined words, with which compare 4 Esdras iii 1 'Anno tricesimo ruinae ciuitatis'. No one will maintain that Epiph. gets this date of the thirtieth year from 4 Esdras (or from the Bible) : rather it must be from the unknown non-Biblical source which furnishes him with the name Esdras and with other details of his story. For anything I can see to the contrary, this

¹ Except in the Rabbinic traditions quote: ὣς Friedmann (*S'rubabbel* p. 11), which make Z. and S. one and the same.

source may also have been used by the author of 4 Esdras ; but that is merely a guess.

To sum up : 4 Esdras knows of a person named Salathiel and Esdras who lived under Nebuchadnezzar (Spanish text) in the thirtieth year of the captivity : clearly not the Ezra of the Bible.

Epiphanius knows of a person named Esdras and Salathiel ('son of Zorobabel and grandson of Jechonias'); and of another person named Esdras who in the thirtieth year of the captivity taught the Samaritans the law. He also knows of the Ezra of the Bible. The two are independent witnesses to a tradition of a person named Esdras and Salathiel who was not the Ezra of the Bible. That is my thesis.

If it is sound, it surely must have a destructive influence on the theory that 4 Esdras is a composite work. I believe I am justified in saying that the occurrence of the name Salathiel at the beginning of the book is the starting-point of all such theories : it is the one argument which is not of a purely subjective character. Wipe it out, and nothing remains but a number of alleged inconsistencies in conception and variations in style which appear (not only to myself, but to scholars such as Sanday, Headlam, Burkitt, Clemen, and Gunkel) to be no greater than a single author working upon traditional lines could admit.

Now I submit that we have sufficient evidence of an external and objective kind to justify us in wiping out that argument. In my former article I shewed that in old times a distinction was made between Esdras the seer of 4 Esdras and the Ezra of the Bible, and that they were described as having lived 100 years apart. I also suggested a reason for the identification of Esdras with Salathiel. I now produce fresh evidence ; an author who shews no knowledge of 4 Esdras shews knowledge of the identification.

The Apocalypse of Salathiel, the centre of all the theories of dissection, is a ghost-book : conjured up by Kabisch in 1889, it has hovered about us long enough. I never liked the look of it, and I earnestly hope that it may now be permitted to vanish.

M. R. JAMES.

THE SOURCES OF VICTOR OF ANTIOCH'S COMMENTARY ON MARK.

THE fullest English account of this commentary is by Burgon (*Last Twelve Verses*, Appendix D). He there says that 'It is evident that an Epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies on S. Matthew, together with Victor's compilation on S. Mark, Titus of Bostra on S. Luke, and a work in the main derived from Chrysostom's Homilies on S. John . . . constituted the established commentary of ancient Christendom on the fourfold Gospel'.¹ This commentary, or part of it, is contained in a large number of MSS; Burgon describes over fifty copies of Victor on Mark, while Sickenberger (Titus von Bostra, *TU* xxi) describes or mentions over thirty-five of 'Titus' on Luke; some of these include also commentaries on the other Gospels, the oldest being Codex X of the Gospels, at Munich, cent. ix or x.

The complete commentary is most accessible in Cramer's edition of the catena that is built up round it. The catenist, however, set to work differently on various Gospels. He made no additions to Victor's commentary on Mark. All his additions to the commentary on John were apparently drawn straight from an existing catena, that published by Corderius. This is noticed, as applying at least to Origen, by Preuschen in his edition of Origen's Commentary on St John. In the chapters in which I have compared the two catenae, 'Cramer' simply gives a selection and sometimes an abridgement of the passages in Corderius. The only addition I have observed is that in Cramer the quotations from Severus of Antioch are usually referred to the precise work from which they are taken, as in the catenae on Matthew and Luke; these references do not appear in the printed text of Corderius, which, however, includes all these Severus passages, and others besides. An examination of the MSS of both catenae might elucidate this matter; meanwhile I am inclined to think that the compiler of 'Cramer' had a special interest in Severus. On Matthew and Luke he seems more independent. His chief sources on Luke are Cyril and Titus, who also supply between them the bulk of the commentary on that Gospel round which this catena is built up.

The commentary is indeed compiled variously in the case of each Gospel. I have not examined that on John, and know no special

¹ p. 87.

account of it; it is probably formed on much the same principle as that on Matthew, the main source being Chrysostom's Homilies on John. That on Matthew is examined by Sickenberger.¹ It consists almost entirely of extracts from Chrysostom's Homilies on Matthew, nearly always passing over the hortatory part at the end of each homily; it compresses much of the remainder, with many omissions and some transpositions; often only a few sentences run consecutively in the source. It includes one or two passages from Isidore and other writers, but practically everything not otherwise specified, apart from necessary changes and introductions by the compiler, is due to Chrysostom; I have found hardly anything not so traceable, except on ch. xxv. It has never been published separately, except in the Latin translation by Serrarius, 1553; but Sickenberger notes what portions of Cramer's catena represent this commentary.

The commentary on Luke is commonly ascribed to Titus, Bishop of Bostra in the Hauran, who wrote against the Manichaeans and confronted the Emperor Julian. But it can come from him only in an extremely modified sense. It quotes or mentions a number of later writers, including Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria, and even Dionysius the Areopagite; hence it cannot be earlier than the sixth century. And examination shews its basis to be Cyril's commentary on Luke, preserved in a large number of catenae fragments (ed. Mai,² reprinted in Migne) and in a nearly complete Syriac translation (ed. Payne Smith). On some long passages the commentary is wholly from Cyril. But Cyril is not here used nearly so exclusively as Chrysostom is in the commentary on Matthew; on some chapters (e.g. xv) there is very much from other sources; in particular, Titus of Bostra is often used. As practically our only sources for Titus are the catenae of Nicetas and of Cramer, it is highly probable that a number of unidentified passages also come from this source. Hence the name of 'Titus' has become attached to the whole commentary, in the same way as, according to a current view, the name of Matthew, really belonging only to the most characteristic source of our First Gospel, has been extended to that Gospel itself.

The compiler, if not the same as that of the commentary on Matthew, plainly had that work before him; he constantly refers to it, passing over various sections because already dealt with there. On the commentary see Sickenberger as above; he deals with it as a prelude to treating of the genuine fragments of Titus, which he prints in full.

The commentary on Mark is ascribed in some MSS to Cyril of Alexandria, but in more to 'Victor, presbyter of Antioch'. It is clearly

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 26 f.

² *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* ii.

not by Cyril, whose name seems to have become attached to it because of the considerable use made in its earlier and later chapters of his commentaries on (Matthew and) Luke; it makes however considerable use also of Theodore and perhaps of Theodoret, the representatives of the opposite school to Cyril. In one place, a comment introduced by ἄλλος φησὶν consists of about two lines of Theodore running on to a long comment by Cyril (p. 423). Of Victor all that is known apart from this commentary is that catenae on Luke have a number of quotations from a commentary by him on that Gospel. (1) Three short passages in Cramer's catena are ascribed to 'Victor the presbyter'—on Lk. viii 16-17, 18, 39. These, though on passages where there is a parallel in Mark, do not recur in the commentary on that Gospel; one of them is ascribed by Nicetas (and Sickenberger) to *Titus*, an extract from whom immediately precedes. (2) In Corderius's catena—an abridgement of Nicetas—Victor is quoted on i 35, viii 34, and at considerable length on x 30 f; the first and last of these are passages peculiar to Luke. (3) Nicetas's catena contains twenty-four¹ quotations from 'Victor the presbyter'; they are published with other matter in Mai's *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* vol. ix 626. They are found on chapters 1-4, 6, 8, 10, 13-14; five of these chapters obviously have either no parallels in Mark, or very short ones, while in several of the rest there is much not parallel. Nine are on ch. i, and the bulk of the rest are either on passages not in Mark, or of such a character—often very short—that we could hardly expect them to be repeated in Victor's commentary on that Gospel. But there are four quotations about the αἰμορροῦσα, which it is surprising not to find there. One quotation of some length remains, on Lk. iv 42; this is found in the commentary on Mark, p. 280, 3-17, and very probably some of what follows, identifying Christ with the kingdom, may come from the same source. Here, and in some other fragments, we see Victor's interest in comparing the Gospels. But it is clear that Victor's commentary on Luke was more independent and less of a compilation. In the above passage, and probably elsewhere, Victor must have copied from himself. The alternative is that Victor actually commented only on Luke, and that his name became attached to the compilation on Mark in the same way as that of Cyril did—and that of Titus to the compilation on Luke—because of the extensive use of his work in it. This view seems supported by Possinus's catena (or catenae) on Mark ascribing some Victor passages to *Photius*. This would put the compilation later than the time of Photius, which is not forbidden by the dates of our oldest MSS. But there are other alternatives. (1) These ascriptions are mistaken; this catena is none too reliable in such matters. It

¹ Sickenberger *TU* xxii 97. I can find only twenty-one in Mai.

ascribes to Cyril a passage really from Isidore. (2) Photius may simply be following a source of Victor; in one case (Mk. xiv 9) Chrysostom is the real source. (3) These Photian passages may be late additions to the text of Victor. (4) Photius may be following Victor—in one case he is following Victor on *Luke*.

The compiler in any case uses many sources; more than ten can be identified; but he works up his material, and probably adds a good deal of his own, especially in his frequent comparisons of the various Gospels. Only occasionally does he quote or mention earlier writers by name; these include Origen, Eusebius, Titus, Apollinaris, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia (Cramer, pp. 266, 408, 418, 442). Basil, Cyril, and Theodore have their names attached to a few notes in some MSS or editions. But the writer is not a catenist in the ordinary sense.

His work has been published in four different forms—by (1) Peltanus, 1580, in a Latin version; (2) Possinus, 1673, combining it with two other commentaries; (3) Matthiae, 1775, based on Moscow MSS; (4) Cramer, 1840, from several Paris and Oxford MSS. These editions differ widely, except that Peltanus's Latin is a free rendering of the text followed by Possinus. Cramer's text is much the fullest. The amount of variation among the MSS is very great; 'not so much in respect of various readings or serious modifications of the text (though the transpositions are very frequent, and often very mischievous), as resulting from the boundless license which every fresh copyist seems to have allowed himself chiefly in *abridging* his author.'¹ Cramer's various codices, however, seem to supplement one another well. In fact he has here and there, especially near the end, duplicate passages; e. g. p. 270, 17-24 = 271, 27-31; 274, 28--275, 2 = 276, 3-5; 434, 5-7 = 434, 10-13; 434, 22-32 = 435, 4-16; 436, 6-10 = 436, 25-29; 440, 9-13 = 440, 19-25; 440, 25-32 = 441, 12-19; 441, 32-442, 15 = 442, 16-30.

The identification of Victor's sources is of some value in three ways. (1) It adds to our none too great MS tradition in the case of the bulk of these sources, e. g. Origen, Eusebius, Titus, Apollinaris, Theodore, Cyril. (2) In the case of Cyril and Theodore it supplies the Greek of some passages preserved otherwise only in Syriac. (3) It probably enlarges some of our fragments of e. g. Titus, Apollinaris, and Theodore. But we have at once to face the fact of Victor's freedom in the use of his sources. In sections clearly taken from Chrysostom he not only greatly abridges and sometimes transposes Chrysostom's sentences, but may, perhaps in the middle of a sentence, go off into the use of some other source, or into a remark of his own. Or, again, just one phrase or sentence of Chrysostom may be inserted in the midst of foreign

¹ Burgon, p. 272.

matter. Some sections are very composite. E.g. in that on p. 270, lines 12-29, only lines 15-17 are clearly from Chrysostom. The section p. 281, 25-282, 15 consists of four fragments: (1) Titus, 281, 25-282, 3; (2) Chrysostom, 3-9; (3) unidentified, 9-12; (4) Chrysostom, 12-15. That on p. 428, lines 10-25, consists of three components, (1) Cyril, 10-17; (2) Apollinaris, 17-19; (3) Chrysostom, 19-25.¹ Hence when we find one or two sentences, in the course of a paragraph, clearly coming from a certain writer, we cannot with any great assurance claim the whole paragraph, or even the immediate context, for this writer. On the other hand, there are cases where long sections, or a series of sections, come exclusively from Chrysostom; and it is not impossible that e.g. Titus or Theodore may similarly be the source of a continuous passage. In the case of Theodore at least this seems very probable.

The largest identified source is, as we might expect, *Chrysostom's* Homilies on Matthew. But Victor's use of them varies. They are used in the opening chapters only occasionally and at no great length. From ch. iv onwards there are much longer passages, e.g. on the Parable of the Sower, 302, 26-304, 24; on the Stilling of the Tempest, 312, 16-313, 21; on the Walking on the Sea, 331, 15-333, 14; besides shorter ones. But the amount from Chrysostom is still no great proportion of the whole, except on ch. iv. This proportion increases with ch. viii; there are a series of passages from Chrysostom on the rebuke to Peter and the teaching which follows; and from this point till ch. xv inclusive the proportion from Chrysostom on each chapter is never less than one-third (except on ch. xi), sometimes more than one-half. On cc. 8-15 Chrysostom supplies 43 per cent.; on the whole Gospel, 32 per cent.

Origen is much less used than we might expect. Of course the first part of his commentary on Matthew is lost, except for fragments; but the fact that Victor nowhere coincides with these fragments and hardly ever with the extant portion of the commentary, renders it very doubtful whether he uses it much anywhere. In the case of two or three coincidences on ch. viii, the verbal similarity is not close; Victor may well have used Origen here only indirectly. But his commentary on John is directly quoted on Mk. i 1 (from tome vi 24 p. 126). This is followed by a passage from Chrysostom; then Origen (l. c.) seems used again, but more freely and perhaps indirectly (267, 18 f). Tome vi 41 (p. 141), where Origen prefers 'Gergesenes' to 'Gerasenes' or 'Gadarenes', is quoted 314, 5-19. A long passage on Mark iv 21 (306, 20-307, 16) is ascribed to Origen by Gallandi and Corderius on Luke. They give it in a very corrupt state, so that it is a gain to have

¹ On p. 423—on the Eucharist—a brief passage from *Theodore* passes imperceptibly into one from *Cyril*.

Victor's text. A passage ascribed by Possinus to Origen (p. 428) comes, in the form given by Cramer, directly from Cyril. Origen seems to have been used both by Titus and by Cyril, and Victor's quotations from him may not be direct.

Eusebius's work on the 'Apparent Discrepancies of the Gospels', addressed to Marinus, is quoted on Mk. i 2; Eusebius regards 'Isaiah' as a σφάλμα γραφῆς for Malachi. It is also the main source used by Victor on ch. xvi; and it is possible that it may be used elsewhere in the comparisons of the various Gospels, of which Victor makes a great point. The passage about Abiathar the High-Priest (293, 7-15) is from Eusebius on Psalm xxxiii (xxxiv). I have seen no coincidences with the fragments of Eusebius on Luke, published by Mai.

Titus of Bostra was clearly largely used, and is probably the source of many unidentified passages. But the numerous quotations from him are often quite short. A clear instance of the way in which Victor uses Titus occurs on p. 276, on Mk. i 25-27, compared with Titus on Lk. iv 35 (Sickenberger, p. 187).

Titus.

ἐπειδὴ ἐλάλει ὡς νήφων ὁ ἄνθρωπος
καὶ ἐφθέγγετο ὡς καθεστηκώς . . .
καὶ ἐνόμιζον οἱ παρόντες

ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δαιμονίῳ πονηρῷ ἐφθέγγετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς καρδιάς αὐτοῦ ἐλάλει.

συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ρίψαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ἵνα δῆλον γένηται ὅτι τὸ λαλήσαν δαιμόνιον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

ἐξήλθε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν βλάψαν αὐτόν· ρίψαι γὰρ μόνον συνεχωρήθη, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐ συνεχωρήθη. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ κατέβαλεν ἤδη ἐτραυματίσεν.

Victor.

ἐπειδὴ ἐλάλει ὡς νήφων καὶ ὡς καθεστηκώς ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ἐνόμιζον οἱ παρόντες

οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἀλλ' ἐκ καρδιάς τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρεσθαι . . .

διὰ τοῦτο δὲ συνεχώρησεν αὐτὸν ρίψαι τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἵνα δῆλον γένηται ὅτι τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦν ὁ λαλήσας (v. l. τὸ λαλήσαν) καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ὁ φθεγξάμενος. τὸ γὰρ "Οἶδά σε τίς εἶ" σῶφρονος ἦν.

ἐξήλθε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν βλάψαν αὐτόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ κατέβαλεν, ἤδη τραυματίαν ἀπέφηνεν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν συνεχώρησεν ὁ Κύριος διὰ τοὺς παρόντας, βλάβην δὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ εἶασεν· ἵνα τοῦ ἐπιτάξαντος φανερωθῇ ἡ ἰσχὺς.

The differences are accounted for by allowance for compression in each case. It will be seen that Victor has some additional sentences. They may or may not also come from Titus. I have noted more than twelve other passages from Titus, on cc. i, ii, iii, iv, v, ix, xii, xiii, xiv—the majority very short.

Theodore of Heraclea is shewn by the catenae of Cramer and Possinus on Matthew to be the source of at least two passages. (1) A few lines

of Victor's comment on Mk. vi 42-44 (p. 328, 16-20 at least); (2) a few lines on the Lord's scourging (435, 19-21).

Apollinaris again probably supplies much more than we can now identify. We have notes from him on 'Who is my mother, or my brethren?'; on adultery and divorce; on the Sadducees; and on the kiss of Judas. A short passage declaring that the Lord's riding into Jerusalem was a sign, as he could well have travelled on foot as usual, is ascribed to *Titus* in Cramer's catena on Luke, as printed; but Nicetas, and two codices of 'Cramer' used by Sickenberger, assign to Titus only the preceding section, attributing *this* to Apollinaris.

Cyril of Alexandria is used less than we might expect, and very unequally. We have, however, only fragments of his commentary on Matthew; the use of this is traceable only on the narrative of the Paralytic (Mk. ii 5, 11). From his commentary (homilies) on Luke come a few passages, some very short and not quite certain, on the first two chapters; then for the bulk of the Gospel nothing is clearly traceable to it till ch. xiv, where the comment on the Institution of the Eucharist comes largely from Cyril. He is repeatedly used throughout the Passion narratives, supplying 17 per cent. on cc. xiv-xv (Chrysostom has nearly 37 per cent.). A few earlier passages are ascribed to Cyril in some MSS or editions. One on the parable of the Mustard Seed (Cramer, 311, 4-8) is thus ascribed by Possinus¹; so another on Mk. xi 24. Another on Mk. vi 10 similarly ascribed by Possinus is assigned to *Theodoret* in Cramer's catena on Matthew, and may possibly come from *Theodore* (see below). A passage on Gethsemane assigned by Possinus to Origen (p. 428) is, in the form it takes in Cramer, exactly represented in *Cyril*.

The great bulk of these passages from Cyril can be identified from the Greek fragments published by Mai, and reprinted by Migne; but a few are otherwise extant only in the Syriac, the Greek original being recoverable only from Victor.

(1) 428, 27 f. οἱ μακάριοι μαθηταὶ τῷ τῆς φιλοθείας νικτόμενοι κέντρῳ, μαχαίρας ἐπανατείνουσιν, ἀποσσοβύντες τὸν ἔφοδον· οὐκ ἔα δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι ὁ Χριστὸς· οὐ γάρ τοι μαχαίρα ἡμᾶς κεχρησθαι βούλεται, ἐννοία (v. l. εἰνοία) μᾶλλον καὶ συνέσει χρωμένους ἀποσείσθαι γενικῶς (q. νεανικῶς?) τοὺς ἐναντίους. ἰάσατο² δὲ θεοπρεπῶς τὸν ὑπομείναντα τὴν πληγὴν, . . . τοῖς ἀφιγμένοις εἰς τὸ

Smith, p. 695. And the blessed disciples, pricked with the goading of divine love, drew their swords to repel the attack. But Christ would not permit this to be done . . . for He would not have us use swords wherewith to resist our enemies, but rather employing love and prudence, we so must mightily prevail against those who oppose us. . . . And He healed with divine

¹ But is really due to Isidore iv 76.

² This sentence is in Mai.

συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν θεοπρεπὲς καὶ τοῦτο
 διδοὺς σημεῖον. ὅτι δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ
 χεῖρα¹ καὶ θέλῃσιν πλεονεκτῆσαι αὐ-
 τὸν οὐδεὶς, διαδείκνυσι λέγων . . .

dignity him who had received the
 blow, so giving to those who came
 to seize Him this godlike sign also
 for their condemnation. But that
 no one prevailed by force over
 His power and will, He shews by
 saying . . .

(2) 432, 19 f. The few lines preceding are also in Mai, who, however,
 has πεπλουτηκὼς τῆς ἀφέσεως τοῦ πλημμελήματος, against Victor's πεπλού-
 τηκε γὰρ τῆς ἀφέσεως τὴν ἐλπίδα, and the Syriac 'He won also the hope
 of forgiveness'.

Victor. πλὴν ἐκείνὸ φάμεν ὅτι
 (καὶ τὰ) τῶν ἀγίων ὀλισθήματα διὰ
 τῶν γραφῶν μαθήνομεν, ἵνα καὶ τῆς
 αὐτῶν μετανοίας μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα.
 φάρμακον γὰρ σωτηρίας ἐπενόησεν
 ὁ φιλοικτίρμων θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν,
 ἣν ἀναρεῖν πειρῶνται οἱ καθαροὺς
 ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι λέγοντες· οὐκ ἐννοή-
 σαντες ὅτι παντὸς ἐστὶ ῥύπον μεστὸν
 τὸ τοιαύτην ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν
 διάληψιν· καθαρὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπὸ
 ῥύπου, καθὼς γέγραπται. κάκεῖνο
 δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖτωσαν· ὅτι πρὶν συλλη-
 φθῆναι Χριστὸν καὶ ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν
 Πέτρον, μέτοχος ἦν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, καὶ
 οὕτως ὠλισθήσε, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς
 μετανοίας ἄφεσιν ἐκομίζετο. οὐκοῦν
 μὴ κατηγορεῖτωσαν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 γαληνότητος, μεμνημένοι λέγοντος
 ἐναργῶς Ἀνομία ἀνόμου οὐ μὴ κακώ-
 σει αὐτόν, ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρα ἀποστρέψῃ
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ.

Smith, p. 700. And this too we
 say: that though we are taught
 the falls of the saints in the sacred
 Scriptures . . .

[Victor has here probably com-
 pressed Cyril]

For the merciful God has pro-
 vided for the inhabitants of earth
 repentance as the medicine of
 salvation; and this I know not
 how men endeavour to dispense
 with, saying of themselves that
 they are clean, and in their great
 madness not understanding that
 to entertain such an idea of them-
 selves is full of all impurity. For
 'no man is free from defilement',
 as it is written . . .

And besides this they ought not
 to forget that before Christ was
 seized or Peter denied Him, he
 had been a partaker of the body
 of Christ and of His precious
 blood. . . .

He fell into sin, and received
 forgiveness upon his repentance.
 Let them not then find fault with
 the gentleness of God . . . but call
 to mind Him who plainly says
 'The wickedness of the wicked
 shall not hurt him in the day
 wherein he turneth away from his
 iniquity'.

(3) 437, 5-14. This passage is clearly from Cyril's 153rd Homily
 on Luke (Smith, pp. 718-719). Migne has it as though a fragment

¹ Cramer edits *κὴν θέλῃσιν*!

of the commentary on *Matthew* (col. 464). Each text can correct the other—e.g. Victor has τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν for Migne's τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν. The Syriac here supports Victor; as again in reading 'the precious cross'. Victor, supported by the Syriac, has a few words not in Migne αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκτέτεικεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὰ ὀφειλήματα· αὐτὸς τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αἶρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾷται.

I have noticed several other cases where Migne publishes passages from catenae on *Matthew*,¹ which are shewn by the Syriac to come from Cyril's work on *Luke*. Most of them are also given by Migne in their right place. The passage at the beginning of p. 99 (Migne, col. 457) is composite; the first part comes from Cyril on Luke, Hom. 148; most of it is found also in its right place on p. 426 (Migne, 924), but the Syriac shews that neither quotation is complete. Part occurs also in Victor (428, 13-16), which is closest to the second quotation in Migne, but includes one clause (προσεταιρεί δὲ τὸ "χαῖρε" τῷ παγιδευθέντι πρὸς θάνατον δι' αὐτοῦ) which is an adaptation of a sentence only in col. 457 and the Syriac. The latter part of the quotation in col. 457 (beginning προέδωκέ τε ἑαυτὸν ἐκῶν) comes in the same passage of Victor, but is not from Cyril, but from Chrysostom on Matthew, H. 83 (p. 793 B; Field, 477).

Theodore of Mopsuestia was probably a still more important source, supplying much more than can now be traced. A large proportion of the scanty catena fragments of Theodore recur in Victor; these include some sentences on Mark's unique parable of the Growth of the Seed; possibly Theodore supplies all or the bulk of Victor's long comment here.

But further, Isho'dad's Syriac commentary on Matthew (ed. Mrs. R. D. Gibson, *Horae Semiticae* v) probably preserves many fragments from Theodore, *The Interpreter* of the Nestorians, in addition to statements definitely ascribed to him. A clear case of the relation of Victor and Isho'dad to catena fragments of Theodore occurs in a comment by him on Mt. viii 34, given in Cramer's Catena—the Gergesenes παρεκάλεσαν ἐφ' ἐτέρους μεταβῆναι τόπους, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοι ὄντες τοσοῦτον ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἔχειν χώρας, δείσαντες μήπου ἁμαρτημάτων ἕνεκεν. For μήπου Cramer (p. 65) suggests δῆπου. But the whole sentence recurs in Victor with a more complete ending—μήπου τι καὶ μείζον πάθωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παρόντος δυνάμεως τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων ἕνεκεν. This fuller form is supported by Isho'dad (p. 44)—'they were not worthy, lest also some other harsh thing should happen to them because of their sins, by reason of His greatness'. Clearly Isho'dad and Victor agree in preserving a line of Theodore omitted in direct transmission.

We are probably justified in provisionally assuming all passages common to Victor and Isho'dad to have *Theodore* as their common

¹ E. g. col. 457, ll. 1-10, 26-32; 461, 41-49; 464, 1-9, 24-49.

source. Some doubt is, however, introduced by the fact that in the two or three cases where Victor coincides with passages ascribed in Cramer's catena on Matthew to *Theodoret*—in one case definitely to 'Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus'—there are also coincidences in Isho'dad. I have not been able to trace these passages in Theodoret. There are three possible explanations. (1) Isho'dad, though he nowhere mentions Theodoret, yet used him freely; in this case some other coincidences with Victor may also come from Theodoret. (2) Theodoret and Isho'dad both follow Theodore closely. (3) As often, Theodore and Theodoret are confused. This is perhaps most probable.

The connexion between Victor and Isho'dad appears most clearly in the following cases:—

(1) *Victor* (Cramer, 299, 9-12).

... εἰς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων διαμάχεσθαι κτημάτων. τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ οἷον τε ἦν ἐκείνους ἑαυτοὺς ἀφελέσθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

(2) *Victor* (300, 14-19).

ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε τὴν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βλασφημίαν ἀποφηνάμενος, οὔτε τοῖς βλασφημοῦσι κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος χώραν μετανοίας, εἰ βούλονται, ἀφιεῖς οὐδεμίαν· ἀλλ' ἐν παραθέσει τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν βλασφημίαν ὥς εἰς ἀνθρώπον τότε γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσαν, ἔλαττον φασκὼν εἶναι, ὅταν τῇ βλασφημίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου συγκρίνῃται πνεύματος.

(3) *Victor* (337, 14-21).

... ἀπεκρίνατο φωνήν, ἥ πολλὴν μὲν πίστιν, πολλὴν δὲ εὐλάβειαν ἐδείκνυ καὶ σύνεσιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι καὶ ἐν κυνὸς τάξει καταλογισθῆναι τῷ κυρίῳ, εὐλαβείας ἦν· τὸ δὲ οἰηθῆναι ὅτι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως (τοῦτο γὰρ ψυχία ὀνομάζει) ἱκανὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς παρασχεῖν τὴν ἰασιν, πίστεως ὑπερβαλλούσης· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λοιδορίας ἀρπάσαι τὴν οἰκείωσιν καὶ ποιήσασθαι ἀπόκρισιν οὕτω θαυμαστὴν, συνέσεως εἶχε γνῶρισμα.

Isho'dad, 53.

... so that he cannot again contend for his possessions.

This then would never have happened of the devils, that they should have bound themselves and liberated men from their power.

Isho'dad, 53.

This He says, not as if blasphemy against Himself were to be completely forgiven, nor as if to those who blaspheme against the Holy Ghost the door were shut in face of their repentance; but He spoke this to lessen the blasphemy against Himself, when it is compared with the blasphemy against the Spirit, because they had been thinking of Him as of a simple Man.

Isho'dad, 64.

Three virtues are shewn by the return of the answer of the Kanaanite—discretion, faith, and wisdom. That she chose to be considered by our Lord even as a dog, was a sign of her discretion; for that her thought was that even a little of His power (for she calls this *crumbs*) was sufficient to give healing to her daughter, was a great proof of her faith; that she took to herself domesticity from the dogs, was a witness to her wonderful wisdom.

Some earlier sentences in Victor's long comment on the Syra-phoenician are shewn by Isho'dad to come also from Theodore, who may thus be the source of the whole or the bulk of this comment.

(4) Here two passages in Victor are separated by two quotations, one partially at least from *Titus*. Victor is fuller and probably preserves more of Theodore.

Victor (316, 4-13).

εἰ καὶ ἄγαν εἰσὶ μοχθηροὶ τὸν τρόπον οἱ δαίμονες, ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἴσασιν ὅτι πάντως αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μένει τις κόλασις ὥστε-ρον. ὅτι δὲ οὐχ ὁ καιρὸς ἐπέστη τῆς κολάσεως ῥαδίως ἡδύναντο γινῶναι, ἐξ ὧν οὐ τιμωρία παρεδίδοντο νῦν, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀναχωρῆσαι μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνῶθει αὐτούς. ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ σωτήρ, "ἔξελθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου". ὥς οὖν καιρὸν ἔχοντες ἂ βούλονται ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὕτω κατεβόων τοῦ Κυρίου ὡς ἂν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ μάτην αὐτοὺς βιαζομένου καὶ τιμωρίαις ὑπάγοντος...

318, 2-12. βουλευθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἅπασι δεῖξαι καὶ ἦντινα τὴν ὀργὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δαίμονες ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅτι πολὺ ἐλάττωνα ἢ βούλονται καὶ δύνανται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐργάζονται κακὰ, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κωλυόμενοι δυνάμει· ἐπὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ταύτην οὐ παρείχετο ἀπὸδειξιν· ἐπέτρεψε δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους εἰσελθεῖν, ὥστε ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὴν τε ὀργὴν φανῆναι τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν νοεῖν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τοσοῦτους χοίρους συντόμως ἀφανισάντες, οὐκ ἀδύνατοι τὰ αὐτῇ διατιθέναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καθεστῆκασιν, ὡς διὰ πάντων φανεράν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, κωλύοντος αὐτοὺς ἅπαντα πράττειν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅσα καὶ βούλονται.

Isho'dad, 43.

But the demons, though they were harassed from doing their own will, yet know that in every way punishment is reserved for them at the last, on account of their wickednesses.

And because they have time in the interval to do something for men, they cried to our Lord as one who before the time of torments was forcing them uselessly and delivering them over to punishment; inasmuch as their torment in the world is this, when they are prevented from accomplishing their will, and are cast out of man, the image of God; but He allowed them to enter the swine, not because their will should be accomplished in these, but to shew every one the enmity they possess to the human race, and that they do little out of much that they long to do, because they are prevented by divine power; so therefore He allowed them to enter into the swine, first, that no man should be hurt by them; second, that from these things might be known at the same time the wrath of the demons and their power, for these sought also to kill the swine. Granted that they could hurt men, how much more would they cause these to perish if there was no one to restrain them?

Besides these instances I have noticed a few other places where

Victor and Isho'dad seem to have a common source, presumably Theodore; but the coincidence is either not so close or not very continuous, one or other writer using other material also. In comparing these two writers it must be remembered that neither professes to be quoting, and that Isho'dad probably uses a Syriac translation of Theodore. The coincidences are confined to Isho'dad's commentary on *Matthew*; I have found none in those on Mark and Luke.

Coincidences with Victor may be a clue to tracing quotations from Theodore in other Syriac commentaries, e. g. the Gannat Busamé (see Dr Rendel Harris's *Introd. to Isho'dad* xxxi-xxxii).

On *Theodoret*, see above. The comments are (1) on Mark iii 31 f, where the passage on Victor (300, 29 f) is composite. The last part is in Cramer on Matthew ascribed to *Apollinaris*, the first part to Theodoret. But there is some amount of divergence between Victor and the passage on Matthew. Isho'dad clearly coincides with part.

Victor.

Δείκνυσιν ὅτι πάσης προτιμᾷ συγγενείας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πίστιν οἰκείους· ταῦτα δὲ ἔφη οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζων πάντως τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἀλλὰ δεικνὺς ὅτι πάσης σωματικῆς συγγενείας προτιμᾷ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν οἰκειότητα· διὰ τοῦτου κάκεινους στέργων εἰ ταῦτα ἐπάγοντο· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν οἰόμενον ὡς ἐπὶ σπουδαιότερον καλεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰς διδασκαλίαν τῶν παρόντων.

Cramer on Matthew,
100.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἔφη, οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζων πάντως τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἀλλὰ δεικνὺς ὅτι πάσης σωματικῆς συγγενείας προτιμᾷ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν οἰκειότητα· διὰ τοῦτου κάκεινους στέργων, εἰ ταῦτα ἐπάγοντο· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν οἰόμενον ὡς ἐπὶ τι σπουδαιότερον καλεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν· ὁ μὲν καὶ εἰς διδασκαλίαν τῶν παρόντων. ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς εἶπε τοῖς μαθηταῖς “ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. οὕτω μοι νόει τὸν Ἰησοῦν προκρίναντα τοὺς μαθητάς ὑπὲρ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφούς.

Isho'dad, 55.

Now He says these things, not as one who rejects mother and brethren, but to shew that spiritual affinity is preferred by Him to bodily relationship; and because of this He also loves those if they have that.

(2) On Mark vi 10. Cramer on Matthew has two fragments, the first ascribed to 'Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus', the second simply to 'Theodoret'. Victor has somewhat more. Isho'dad has coincidences only with Cramer's *second* fragment.

Victor, 323, 24 f.

Ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ εἰς οἰκίαν μένειν μὴ μεθισταμένους, ὥστε μὴ εὐκόλου καὶ προχείρου γνώμης ἀποφέρεισθαι δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοῖς μὴ πειθόμενοις αὐτῶν μηδὲ ὑποδεχομένοις, καὶ τὸν κοινορτὸν ἐκτινάσσειν τῶν ποδῶν, σύμβολον ὄντα τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἣν ὑπέμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἥτοι ὡς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν ὁ κοινορτὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐπανέλθοι.

Cramer, 76.

Ταῦτά φησιν ὥστε μὴ εὐκόλου καὶ προχείρου γνώμης ἀποφέρεισθαι δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν . . . Τὸ ἐκτινάσσειν τὸν κοινορτὸν τῶν ποδῶν κατὰ τῶν μὴ ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοῦς, σύμβολον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἣν ὑπέμεναν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

Isho'dad, 45.

But He commanded them about those who would not receive them, to shake off upon them the dust of their feet, a sign therefore of the labours of the way which they had borne because of them.

The last clause in Victor may possibly come from a different source than Theodoret (Theodore).

I have found in Isho'dad no coincidences with catena fragments of Theodoret independent of Victor.

Basil is given as the source of a comment on Mark ix 50 (370, 18 f) "ἐκ τοῦ σμ' κεφαλαίου τοῦ Ἀσκητικοῦ"—really from his 'Shorter Rules', no. 266.

Gregory of Nyssa is given by Possinus as the source of the comparison of the Two Robbers (438, 28—439, 2). I have not found the reference.

Isidore of Pelusium is not used so much as might be expected. The first note on the parable of the Mustard Seed, ascribed by Possinus to Cyril (311, 4—8), comes really from Isidore *Epp.* iv 76, though it is quoted freely. Another passage is a conflation of a fragment of Cyril with Isidore iv 189 (289, lines 23—29; 23—25 come from Cyril, 25—27 from Isidore, and 27—29 again from Cyril).

The connexions with *Photius* present a difficult problem. Out of eleven passages ascribed to him in Possinus's catena on Mark, seven have some connexion with Victor. In one of these, however, the parallel is found also in Nicetas's catena on Luke, from Victor's commentary on that Gospel. In another, both clearly depend on Chrysostom, to which Victor comes closest; in another, both may be using Theodore. In one case Victor has one clause in common with Photius, and after a distinct interval a longer sentence; in several cases Victor is fullest, though this fact may be variously interpreted.

The passages are—(1) Mark i 32:

Photius.

διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέμενον τὸ πέρας τῆς ἡμέρας, ἵνα μὴ δόξωσιν ἐν σαββάτῳ θεραπευθῆναι. ἀμέλει καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγούμενοι ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντι ἐν σαββάτῳ. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν μὴ ἀναμένοντες, παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν τὰς ἰάσεις ποιῆσθαι.

(2) i 35 f:

Photius.

Αξιὸν ἐστὶ ζητήσεως πῶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὴν ἔρημον προσήυχετο· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὡς δεόμενος καὶ χρήζων τοῦτο ἐποίει, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τὰς τῶν λογικῶν δεχόμενος προσευχάς· ἀλλὰ οἰκονομικῶς τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ τύπος ἡμῖν γινόμενος πάσης ἀρίστης πράξεως.

All this is found in Nicetas, and comes there from Victor on Luke.

(3) iii 13 f. Photius has among phrases not found in Victor ὡς ἂν μὴ μάταια αὐτῶν γένηται ἢ προβολή—cf. 296, 27–28; and further on ἡμέρας δὲ γεγονυίας κατὰ τὸν Λουκᾶν, προσεκαλέσατο οὓς προέκρινε· πλείους γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν δώδεκα οἱ παρόντες· οὓς δὲ ἐξελέξατο δώδεκα ἐτύγχανον· καὶ τοιούτους ἐκάλεσεν ἀποστόλους, εἰς προπαρασκευὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν πληρωθήσονται ἔργον. This agrees closely, though not verbally, with Victor 297, 4–7.

(4) iii 28 f. Photius agrees practically verbally with Victor 297, 24–29, except that Photius may have lost something near the close. He has ἀσυγχώρητον δὲ εἶναι λοιδορίαν θεοῦ φησί, πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ἐνομίζετο καὶ ἐωρᾶτο ὡς ἄνθρωπος—whereas Victor, omitting φησί, continues ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ συγγνώμῃ οὐκ ἔχουσιν. τὴν γὰρ εἰς υἱὸν ἔχει πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ἐνομίστο τότε καὶ ἐωρᾶτο ἄνθρωπος ὢν.

(5) v 8. εἰ καὶ ἄγαν εἰσὶ μοχθηροὶ οἱ δαίμονες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον ὅτι εἰς ὑστερον κολασθήσονται ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. Cp. Victor 316. 4–6, which seems to be connected with Theodore. But the rest of the fragment of Photius depends on Chrysostom, and has no connexion with Victor.

(6) v 13. The Saviour allowed the demons to enter into the swine ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν μανίαν τῶν δαιμόνων ὅπόση τίς ἐστιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τοσούτους χοίρους συντόμως ἀφανίσαντες οὐκ ἂν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν οὕτω διαθεῖναι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· ὥστε διὰ πάντων τούτων φανερὰν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, κωλύοντος αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι εἰς τοὺς

Victor, 278, 12–16.

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐνόμιζον μὴ ἐξεῖναι τινι θεραπεύειν σαββάτῳ, τοῦτου χάριν τοῦ σαββάτου τὸ πέρας ἀνέμενον. ἀμέλει, καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἰ. ἡγούμενοι ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντι ἐν σαββάτῳ. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ὡς ὠφελήθentes ἤδη, μὴ ἀναμείναντες τὴν ἐσπέραν, παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἰάσασθαι τὴν πενθερὰν Πέτρου.

Victor, 280, 3 f.

Ὅρα γὰρ πῶς ἀναχωρήσας ὁ Ἰ. εἰς τὴν ἔρημον προσήυχετο· οὐκ αὐτὸς ταύτης δεόμενος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τὰς παρὰ τῶν λογικῶν ἀπάντων δεχόμενος λιτάς· ἀλλὰ οἰκονομικῶς τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ τύπος ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔφημεν, πάσης ἀρίστης γινόμενος πράξεως.

ἀνθρώπους ὅσα καὶ βούλονται. Cp. Victor 318, 6-12; reasons have been given for ascribing the early part of this to Theodore; but the latter part has nothing close in Isho'dad. Either Victor is composite here, combining Theodore and Photius; or more probably both Photius and Victor are following Theodore, the former more closely.

(7) On xiv 9—where Photius seems to depend on Chrysostom; cp. 419. 25-30.

Photius.

Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχω, φησί, τοῦ
μεμψάσθαι αὐτήν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἀφήσω
λαθεῖν τὸ γεγενημένον αὐτῆς ἔργον
ἀλλ' ἅπας ὁ κόσμος γινώσκεται· καὶ
γὰρ μεγάλης διανοίας ἦν τοῦτο.

Chrysostom (Field, p. 340).

ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω τοῦ κατα-
δικάσαι αὐτήν ὡς κακῶς πεποιηκίαν,
ἢ μεμψάσθαι ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐργασα-
μένην, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀφήσω λαθεῖν τὸ γε-
γενημένον ἀλλ' ὁ κόσμος εἴσεται τὸ
ἐν οἰκίᾳ εἰργασμένον καὶ ἐν κρίπτῳ.
Καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ διανοίας εὐλαβοῦς ἦν τὸ
γεγενημένον.

Victor agrees with Chrysostom except in reading *καλῶς* for *ὀρθῶς*, and *μεγάλης διανοίας* for *ἀπὸ διανοίας εὐλαβοῦς*.

On the whole I am inclined to think that Photius uses Victor or his sources. The last passage seems fatal to Victor having used Photius.

I have found no connexions with *Severus*, who is often used in catenae.

Probably a few more passages may come from Cyril's dogmatic writings, or from various works of Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregories; but these can only be a few. Much, therefore, of Victor remains unidentified; much of this, however, probably comes from Titus and Theodore, or perhaps from Apollinaris or Victor himself.

Here and there there is some slight connexion between Victor and one of Possinus's other sources—his 'Tolosanus'. To take one instance from the parable of the Growth of the Seed—Mk. iv 26 f. 'Tolosanus' has . . . τοὺς δεξαμένους τὸν σπóρον, τούτεστι τὸν σωτήριον λόγον, ἐγείρεται δὲ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τοῖς τῆς προνοίας λόγοις διεγείρων ἡμᾶς εἰς καρποφορίαν. Cp. Victor 309. 4-7—which looks more original. The relation resembles that of Photius.

I subjoin an approximate Table of Sources used:—

<i>Cramer.</i>		CHRYSTOSTOM.		<i>Chrysostom, Matthew.</i>
p. 267, l. 9-17		H. 37, p. 415 D—416 A		
270, 15-17		H. 12	160 D	
272, 8—273, 2		H. 13	167 E—168 D	
282, 3-9		H. 25	308 B-D	
12-21		"	307 E, 309 A	
283, 7-15		"	309 B—310 A	
287, 22-26		H. 15	184 C D	

<i>Cramer.</i>	<i>Chrysostom, Matthew.</i>
p. 294, l. 7-14	H. 40 p. 438 B, 437 B C
301, 28-302, 2	H. 44 469 E-470 A
302, 26-304, 24	" 470 B-472 E
307, 24-31	H. 15 195 A B
308, 2-5	" 195 B
311, 17-25	H. 47 487 B C
312, 16-313, 31	H. 28 333 B-335 C
314, 28-315, 7	" 335 E-336 A
315, 15-316, 4	" 335 C-336 B
331, 15-333, 14	H. 50 513 C-516 D
342, 15-25	H. 53 540 D-541 A
345, 27-346, 10	H. 54 546 B-E
347, 16-348, 1	" 550 B-551 A
348, 11-349, 17	H. 55 555 C-557 D
349, 21-350, 20	" 558 C-559 C
351, 26-353, 3	H. 56 565 A-566 B
353, 16-354, 8	" 566 B-567 A
354, 20-355, 2	" 567 B-568 C
355, 25-356, 23	" 568 C-570 C
356, 33-357, 6	" 571 A
357, 11-13, 17-22	" 571 B C
357, 25-358, 26	H. 57 575 C-577 D
359, 27-361, 9	" 578 C-580 A
361, 10-16	" 581 A
364, 19-30	H. 58 587 C-588 A
366, 24-26	H. 35 401 B
32-367, 12	H. 58 588 B D
367, 30-368, 3	H. 59 598 D E
371, 13-372, 22	H. 62 619 B-621 D
372, 28-373, 25	" 620 D-622 B
375, 10-25	" 624 D-625 B
376, 9-378, 31	H. 63 627 D-631 A
380, 21-381, 17	H. 64 634 C-637 A
383, 13-15	(H. 65 644 A)
27-384, 2	" 644 B (C)
384, 8-19	" 645 B C
21-386, 22	" 645 D-648 B
386, 24-387, 23	" 648 B-649 E
389, 9-25	H. 66 654 C-655 A
390, 2-7	" 656 C-D
391, 3-24	H. 67 662 B-663 A
393, 15-25	" 661 B C
396, 23-30	" 663 B D
399, 28-400, 2	H. 68 671 D E
401, 26-402, 9	H. 70 689 A-690 B
403, 6-26	H. 71 695 B C, 694 D
404, 2-7	" 694 E-695 A
404, 23-405, 21	" 695 E-697 B
407, 10-22 (part)	H. 75 722 E-723 A
26-408, 7	" 723 B C

<i>Cramer.</i>	<i>Chrysostom, Matthew.</i>
p. 408, l. 31—410, 12 (mainly) . . .	H. 75, p. 723 E—726 A
410, 18—22	" 725 B
411, 16—412, 23	H. 76 731 E—735 A
413, 10—23	" 735 D—736 A B
414, 6—28	H. 77 740 B—741 B
415, 6—11	" 741 B C
14—416, 5	" 741 C—742 C
416, 19—32	" 744 A B
417, 30—418, 3	H. 80 765 C
419, 3—9	" 766 C
13—30	" 766 D—768 C
420, 6—28	H. 81 773 B D
421, 2—4	" 774 A
422, 12—18	H. 82 781 D E
424, 20—426, 2 (mainly)	" 783 E—787 B
426, 13—20	H. 83 790 E—791 B
22—31	" 791 C D
427, 2—16 (mainly)	" 791 E—792 B
19—27	" 792 D
428, 19—25	" 793 B C
429, 22—430, 9	H. 84 799 D—800 C
431, 4—16	" 800 E—801 B
432, 31—433, 12	H. 85 805 B D
435, 25—436, 3	H. 87 817 D E
436, 4—5	" 818 A E
437, 29—438, 2	" 819 A—C
438, 6—9	H. 88 824 D
26—28	H. 87 819 D E
439, 8—16	H. 88 824 B D
18—31	" 824 D—825 C
440, 9—12	" 825 D
19—22	" 825 D
25—29 (411, 11—15)	" 825 E—826 A
441, 21—25	" 826 A B
443, 16—444, 2	" 827 C E
444, 6—9	H. 89 834 A
446, 4—15	" 834 B D

ORIGEN.

Cramer.

- 266, 12—267, 4. Quoted from John, tome vi (24, p. 126).
 267, 18—26 (?). Continuation of above, but free and perhaps indirect.
 269, 20—25. John, tome vi (34, p. 134).
 306, 20—307, 16 (21). Ascribed to Origen by Gallandi and Corderius (abridgement of Nicetas's catena on Luke).
 314, 5—19. Quoted from John, tome vi (41, p. 141).
 321, 1—3. Ascribed to Origen by Possinus, but by others to Titus, who sometimes copies Origen.
 346, 6 f, 30 f. } Echoes of Matthew, tome xii 18—19; but not verbally close, and
 348, 1 f. } perhaps indirect.

428, 2-5. Ascribed in different form to Origen by Possinus. But as it stands in Cramer, it comes direct from Cyril.

EUSEBIUS.

266, 8-12. Quoted from 'To Marinus'.

293, 7-15. Psalm xxxiii (xxxiv).

444, 9-445, 32. } From 'To Marinus'. Free, and perhaps indirect.

446, 18-447, 10. }

TITUS OF BOSTRA.

276 (10), 12-15, 22-26 (28)	On Lk. iv 35	Sickenberger, p. 157
281, 26-282, 3	" v 12 f	" 158
285, 3-6	" v 27	" 160
288, 13-14	" v 28	" 160
293, 5-7	" vi 5	" 160
294, 19-21	" vi 13	" 161
304, 30-305, 5	" viii 5	" 173
316, 30-317, 2	" viii 31	" 177
317, 18-21, 24-25, 28-29	" viii 38	" 178-9
318, 24-28	" viii 41	" 180
321, 1-3	" viii 48	" 182
(ascribed by Possinus to <i>Origen</i>)		
355, 4-6	" ix 33	" 182
356, 26-29	" ix 35	" 183
406, 16-20	" xx 46	" 235
408, 18-27 (?)	" xxi 8	" 236
421, 28-30	" xxii 22	" 243

THEODORE OF HERACLEA.

328, 13-16. Possinus, Catena on Matthew

435, 19-21. Cramer, Catena on Matthew, 233

APOLLINARIS.

301, 5-8 (10). Cramer, Matthew, 99

374, 15-22. " " 151

389, 25-32. Nicetas; Cramer on Luke

402, 22-32. Cramer, Matthew, 183

428, 17-19. Cramer, Luke, 160

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

(275, 6-10). Migne, col. 545; Smith, p. 66

(26-29). " 548 " 68

285, 9-10. Possinus, Matthew

286, 15-29 (31). Cramer, Matthew, 66

289, 23-25, 17-30. Cramer, Luke; Migne, 572; Smith, 87

290, 10-20. " 572-3 " 87, 89

311, 48. Possinus on Mark

395, 15 f. "

423, 8-29. Migne, col. 909-912; Smith, 667-8

427, 28-428, 5. " 920 " 684-5

428, 10-17. " 924 " 694-5

428, 27-429, 8.	Migne, col. (925);	Smith, 695-6
431, 21-26.	"	929 " 703-4
29-31.	"	928 " 698
432, 16-31.	"	(928) " 699-701
433, 23-434, 1.	"	932 " 708
434, 22-32.	"	933 " 711
435, 3-17.	"	933 " 710-1-2, 714
436, 5-10, 25-29	"	933 f " 715
437, 6-14.	"	464 " 718-9
438, 24-26	"	937 " 720

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

A. *Direct.*

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372, 28-373, 25. "
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380, 21-381, 17. "
383, 13-15. "(?
27-384, 19. "
384, 21-386, 22. "
386, 24-387, 23. "
389, 9-25. "
25-32. Apollinaris.
390, 2-7. Chrysostom.
391, 3-24. "
24-392, 5. Theodore (?).
393, 15-25. Chrysostom.

- 395, 15 f. Cyril (?).
 396, 23-30. Chrysostom.
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 399, 28-400, 2. Chrysostom.
 401, 26-402, 9. "
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 22-31. "
 427, 2-16 (mainly). "
 427, 19-27. Chrysostom.
 28-428, 17. Cyril.
 428, 17-18. Apollinaris.
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 27-429, 8. Cyril.
 429, 22-430, 9. Chrysostom.
 431, 4-16. "
 21-31. Cyril.
 432, 16-31. "
 31-433, 12. Chrysostom.
 433, 23-434, 1. Cyril.
 434, 22-32. "
 435, 3-17. "
 19-21. Theodore of Heraclea.
 25-436, 5 (mainly). Chrysostom.
 436, 5-10, 25-29. Cyril.
 437, 6-14. "
 29-438, 2. Chrysostom.
 438, 6-9, 21-23. "
 24-26. Cyril.
 26-28. Chrysostom.
 28-439, 2. Gregory of Nyssa.
 439, 8-16. Chrysostom.
 18-31. "
 440, 9-12, 19-22. "
 25-29. "
 441, 11-15. "
 21-25. "
 442, 7-8, 17-18. "
 443, 16-444, 9. "
 444, 9-445, 32. Eusebius (free, and
 perhaps indirect).
 446, 4-15. Chrysostom.
 15-447, 2. Eusebius.

HAROLD SMITH.

REVIEWS

Immortality, An Essay in Discovery: co-ordinating Scientific, Psychical, and Biblical Research. By BURNETT H. STREETER, A. CLUTTON-BROCK, C. W. EMMETT, J. A. HADFIELD, and the Author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. (Macmillan, 1917.)

THE gist of these essays is that we ought to deal with immortality by the experimental rather than the mystical method, to think more of 'as the seed springs' than 'to know God is eternal life'; and—corollary to this—we ought to make the reasonable venture of faith in deciding that we survive as persons, and should stay our hope more on 'the feast of the kingdom' than on 'God shall be all in all'. Miss Dougall writes in her last chapter: 'There are two distinct conceptions of the ultimate future of man; the one seems to be founded upon the ecstasy of mystic vision, the other upon the experience of the excellence of fellowship or friendship. In the one conception high Heaven is a rapture in which all particulars are fused into the Infinite: in the other the Heavenly state is social, emphasising personal distinctions.' She rejects the former as 'ecstasy' 'baneful' 'not Christian'. 'The opposing conception—that the energies of the self must pass away in the ecstasy of the Divine Vision—has had a far-reaching, and in my view baneful, influence. Largely through it the Christian hope of immortality has been emptied of content. It is not Christian; it came into the Church from Oriental and neo-Platonic sources . . . and was originally due to the mystics who in the religious life set ecstasy above the joy of friendship.'

That is a somewhat partial statement of the rejected view, and it is possible to refuse the main emphasis to personality and yet to believe in the perfecting of human love in God. And the questions that recur as we read this book are: Do the writers prove that personality is an eternal idea, or is it a form of present experience which may be transcended; and, Do they start from the genuine sacramental principle—so well described by Miss Dougall as the 'conviction that finite and infinite interpenetrate, as time and eternity interpenetrate'—or is their notion rather of a line which, if extended, will reach another world?

Mr Clutton-Brock leads off in his pleasant style: how charming is his portrait of Henry James in a conventional heaven. He knows the mind of his contemporaries, and would persuade them to give up their prejudice against immortal hope as spoiling the disinterestedness of

395. 15 f. Cyril (?). 427, 2 minds of many
 396, 23-30. Chrysostom. incredulity, which
 398, 20-21, 23-28. Theodore. 47 quite the we
 399, 28-400, 2. Chrysostom. 'her me'
 401, 26-402, 9. " 'eall'
 402, 22-32. Apollinaris.
 403. 6-26. Chrysostom.
 404, 2-7. "
 23-405, 21. "
 406, 16-20. Titus. not
 407, 10-22 (part). Chrysostom. context
 26-408, 7. " sympathises with
 408, 18-27. Titus (?). " little the surface of ha
 31-410, 12 (mainly). Ch er and beautiful, and it
 410, 18-22. " men would be a universal and
 411, 16-412, 23. " of absolute values.' But is it
 413, 10-23. " 'Whatever we have really loved
 414, 6-28. " gain, to be recognised like the sound of
 29-415, 2. Thee " like the swinging open of gates, like the
 415, 6-11. Chrysostom " is, like all those things that are eternal to us,
 14-416, 5. " into that place where no more time shall be "but
 416, 19-32. " all things firmly stayed upon the pillars of eternity."
 417, 30-418, 3. " dream, like 'Jerusalem the golden'; still a dream, and
 419, 3-9. " confirmed by such logic as this: 'In any future life we may
 13-35. " great access of knowledge and power but that access must come
 420, 6-28. " It is I myself that will experience it. The *will be*
 421, 2-4. " ourselves. It is I myself that will experience it. The *will be*
 28-30. " connected with the *is*; or I shall not be I. In many ideas of
 422, 12-17. " state the *will be* is not connected with the *is* at all through the
 423, 6-8. " and that is why so many men cease to believe in a future state at all
 8- " even to desire it. They cannot imagine themselves as being if they
 424, 2 " are not to be themselves."

'Swear by thyself
 That at my death thy Son
 Shall shine as he shines now and heretofore:
 And having done that thou hast done;
 I fear no more.'

Is not that a fuller and stricter consonance?

Mr Clutton-Brock handles his argument lightly, then suddenly cuts deep; a winning method. Canon Streeter goes more directly to work. He stands boldly for continuity and precision: 'The principle of the continuity between the life of Heaven and the highest life we know on earth—that necessary deduction from belief in the Divinity of Christ—will carry us a long way towards finding that definite and concrete picture of the nature of the future life which was the goal set before us in this enquiry.' He is satisfied that 'existence in the next life, as



to be thought of in 'The Bible and hell'. He
 may have th Testament doctrine by examining
 or may hav which that text when it is
 sitting o that 'there is far less about
 th'; the language is of the
 th accepted as at least in part
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 th 'true and indecisive'
 ing unre when due allowance
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 ew in the Kingdom of God. the New Testa-
 and more satisfaction in that meta, faculty is that
 dictions which this book on the whole is ly defined
 perhaps, rather than in the defiant stoicism wh. d it does
 as so general, lies the hesitation of modern men. Th. mmett
 believe eternal life, but they doubt whether it is right to licit
 life in the flesh. They mistrust the application of 'space', 'time', 'rit
 'personality'; since, however those terms may be enlarged by
 sophers, the vulgar meaning is set about with associations which
 faith. What they know—or imagine—about death renders all
 of continuity imperfect. Proof seems impossible. Analogy, the only
 substitute, seems still uncertain. They do not dislike vagueness.
 And what they are inclined to accept, as consistent with present, if
 not constantly present, experience, is life by the Spirit without the
 senses, and that Spirit the one comprehensive Spirit of God. This
 feeling is deepened into theology by the Johannine writings which
 seem to have affected the authors of these essays less than other parts
 of the New Testament.

It is possible to be too suspicious of vagueness. The vague is tolerable so far as it is recognised as transitional :—

'Teach me to blot regrets,
 Great Mother, me inspire
 With faith that forward sets
 But feeds the living fire,
 Faith that never frets
 For vagueness in the form.'

George Meredith is an incomplete theologian. He speaks not of the incarnate Christ. But he has an implicit doctrine of the Word and strenuous thoughts about life which help to elicit some half-forgotten elements of the Christian hope. And those are just the elements which least interest the writers of this book, but closely interest a large number of plain men and women to-day. These are not the people

conduct. That prejudice, he thinks, is 'deep in the minds of many upright men and produces in them a habit of defiant incredulity, which is not so much rational as moral'. Yet is 'defiant' quite the word? And are these imputations fair?—'It seems to us that other men need to be purged of all that we dislike in them. . . . Man does really will evil if he wills anything; and this we know from our experience of ourselves . . . The notion that all men will necessarily be saved is repulsive not merely because there are some men whom we do not wish to be saved. . . .' No doubt these are but vivacities; the context is wholesome. Yet they make us wonder whether he sympathises with the trouble in the ground of our heart, and they ruffle the surface of his 'Dream of Heaven'. The dream is clever and beautiful, and it contains a characteristic definition: 'Heaven would be a universal and everlasting fellowship in the enjoyment of absolute values.' But is it dreamed so true that we can trust it? 'Whatever we have really loved here will be there to be loved again, to be recognised like the sound of bells from an old city church, like the swinging open of gates, like the sunrise over the mountains, like all those things that are eternal to us, that seem to call us into that place where no more time shall be "but steadfast rest of all things firmly stayed upon the pillars of eternity".' That is a good dream, like 'Jerusalem the golden'; still a dream, and hardly confirmed by such logic as this: 'In any future life we may have a great access of knowledge and power but that access must come to us ourselves. It is I myself that will experience it. The *will be* must be connected with the *is*; or I shall not be I. In many ideas of a future state the *will be* is not connected with the *is* at all through the I, and that is why so many men cease to believe in a future state at all or even to desire it. They cannot imagine themselves as being if they are not to be themselves.'

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in this, must be thought of as existence in space', and infers that 'in the next life we may have the power of easy and rapid movement from world to world; or may have our home, as it were, in some one world with the power of visiting or communicating with this or other worlds'. Such speculation is not the main thing in his essays. He lays more stress on the quality of life in heaven; he says that 'in exact proportion to the effective realisation on earth of the Kingdom of God will be the increase of our knowledge of the real nature of the life of the world to come'; and that 'something unrealised and unguessed at by man on earth must still remain'; and ends with metaphor, 'The fruit of the Vine which we drink on earth is really and essentially Eternal Life, but we shall drink it *new* in the Kingdom of God'.

Many will find more satisfaction in that metaphor than in the more definite predictions which this book on the whole is written to justify. There, perhaps, rather than in the defiant stoicism which Mr Brock thinks so general, lies the hesitation of modern men. They do not disbelieve eternal life, but they doubt whether it is right to liken it to life in the flesh. They mistrust the application of 'space', 'time', and 'personality'; since, however those terms may be enlarged by philosophers, the vulgar meaning is set about with associations which hinder faith. What they know—or imagine—about death renders all proof of continuity imperfect. Proof seems impossible. Analogy, the only substitute, seems still uncertain. They do not dislike vagueness. And what they are inclined to accept, as consistent with present, if not constantly present, experience, is life by the Spirit without the senses, and that Spirit the one comprehensive Spirit of God. This feeling is deepened into theology by the Johannine writings which seem to have affected the authors of these essays less than other parts of the New Testament.

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whose 'pressing need' is 'the popularisation of new ways of presenting to the mind an idea of what is meant by the Christian hope of immortality, clear and definite enough to do for our generation what the symbols and pictures inherited from Jewish Apocalypse did for our fathers'. These are not the Quixotes with whom Mr Clutton-Brock pleads. In an unpretending way they do try to be 'impersonal', yet their affections are not thereby dulled. What they desire is an approach to pure truth. They cannot allow that new symbols should be fashioned because a generation craves for them. Rather they suspect that God is raising us at last from the stage of symbols to something harder but more intimate. And if so, they do not expect clear outlines as yet; faith is not, as yet, to vanish into sight.

Now that is 'scientific patience', to adopt a phrase from Miss Dougall's fine essay on 'The good and evil in spiritualism'. It is a temper for which special consideration might have been expected in this symposium of experimental theology. Miss Dougall certainly would sympathise with it. Yet on the whole she joins her collaborators in pursuing the other line; patiently extending analogies instead of patiently investigating the interpenetration of the temporal by the eternal, that eternal which itself abides of another kind. However, 'the range of human knowledge is expanding yearly on every side', as Canon Streeter says in his Introduction; he and his fellow essayists only claim to have made a beginning; the method they have chosen has enabled them to make that beginning, it has worked so far as they have cared to go; others may find that the 'intellectual co-operation' practised here will make their own advance on other lines more substantial, as Greek philosophy progressed with the progress of natural science. Two of the essayists, Dr Hadfield and Mr Emmett, may certainly be credited with such substantial contributions to our resources. In 'The mind and the brain', Dr Hadfield draws on his experience as a medical specialist, and gives solid proof that while as yet 'the mind is always associated with a brain', it 'shews an increasing tendency to become independent'. From that as established fact he ventures on an inference which has the verisimilitude of broad simplicity: 'Our destiny is that from the undeveloped soul with which we started we shall become ever more differentiated and more spiritual, in touch with the Infinite, knowing and loving God. The world soul from which we are derived came from God, and we go to God who is our Eternal Home. Meanwhile it is our business on earth so to live that we shall prepare ourselves for the time when body and brain decay but

"When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home".

Mr Emmett too deals with facts in 'The Bible and hell'. He corrects popular impressions of New Testament doctrine by examining the text itself, and the antecedents by which that text when it is ambiguous must be interpreted. He shews that 'there is far less about future punishment than is usually supposed'; the language is of the apocalyptic type and must therefore be accepted as at least in part symbolic; with regard to the everlasting nature of punishment the New Testament, like the Apocalypses, is 'vague and indecisive' 'there is no passage which absolutely requires it when due allowance is made for a rhetorical use of quotations from earlier literature and the conventional employment of current figures'. These are facts, recognised when pointed out. But here is another fact: 'Though the New Testament is not decisive as to everlasting punishment, the difficulty is that it does definitely contemplate the existence of two clearly defined classes—the sheep and the goats, the saved and the lost—and it does not explicitly suggest any possibility of improvement hereafter for those who are on the wrong side of the line.' At this point Mr Emmett breaks his bounds. He claims the right to go beyond the explicit teaching of the New Testament, for 'it is the teaching and the Spirit of Christ Himself which enables us now to rise to something higher'. His claim, whether right or wrong, is put forward modestly, and in this essay, as in Dr Hadfield's, a markedly religious energy informs the practical method.

'The good and evil in spiritualism' and 'Reincarnation, Karma, and theosophy' are also practical enquiries and contain much good matter. The other essays are extremely interesting and attractive. They are meant to be suggestive, not final. Hence it is hardly a disparagement to observe (what too may be disputed) that they are moulded on a fashion in philosophy which though it be an advance upon former ideas is not likely to last for ever. They are honest, thoughtful, vivid; an able attempt to help the present generation. But their language will grow obsolete. Other moods of soul will press for sympathy. Indeed it may be doubted whether the mood with which they generally deal is not already changing into an appeal for quietism.

Christianity and Immortality. By VERNON F. STORR, M.A., Hon. Canon of Winchester Cathedral, Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford. (Longmans, 1918.)

CANON STORR had sent his book to the printer before *Immortality* appeared. He found himself at one with the writers in *Immortality* in feeling strongly 'the need for a restatement of our belief in a future life'. And, like them, he lays much stress on personality. 'We have

no hesitation', he writes, 'in demanding immortality for man on the ground of his worth as a spiritual being. We defy death to destroy a creature of such achievement and such capacity. . . . A person has for us a spiritual value which is unique. And it is because personality in itself has this value that we claim immortality as the natural birthright of every human being' (pp. 108, 167). He analyses 'things' pretty strictly: 'It would seem to be largely a matter of choice where we draw the boundaries of a thing' (pp. 72 ff.). But he allows no analysis of 'self'. Of course 'self is meant to expand and find its real life in widening its relationships', but 'self-consciousness is not a combination of anything. . . . It is a unity unique in its nature. It stands alone, and is the peculiar mark of a person' (pp. 94, 14).

And it is largely this assurance of personal worth that encourages him, like Mr Emmett, first to set out our Lord's words, of which 'nothing can exceed the gravity', about 'the possibility of final ruin, exclusion from the kingdom, of being guilty of an eternal sin'; then nevertheless to decide that 'the authority of Christ is not the authority of the bare *ipse dixit*. Every age must interpret the Christian revelation so as to effect, if possible, an adjustment between its teaching and its own outlook' (pp. 169 f). The lines of this adjustment are indicated, but with restraint. 'It would seem more consonant with our belief in the Divine Fatherhood to hold that God in His mercy will finally put out of being the souls of the irremediably wicked, if indeed a soul can ever be beyond hope of restoration. If God creates a soul He can destroy it—"fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell"' (p. 172). That is as far as Canon Storr will go for or against eternal punishment.

Nor does he indulge fancy about 'The life hereafter'. 'Finally', so this last chapter ends, 'the reserve of Christianity about the future is magnificently strong. . . . We have enough light to walk by, and the light grows as experience deepens. Christianity tells us this, and it is enough; that we are neither mere links in a chain of mechanical happenings, nor mere passing moments in the life of God; but are sons of God, free, spiritual, immortal, with the destiny before us of an unbroken fellowship with Him who made us sharers in His own nature. . . . Christ has made sure to us, as was not made sure to Moses, the blessed hope of a life with God hereafter' (pp. 194 f).

That close is characteristic. Like the essayists, Mr Storr believes that 'if we are to live on as persons in the hereafter our life must have relationships with matter' (p. 184). And he enforces this belief by an attractive quotation from Mr Wilfrid Richmond: '. . . Is all this revelation of wonder to go for nothing, to be rolled up and thrown away, the cast-off garment of reality . . . ?' (p. 90). But it is the faith of the

Church in the resurrection of Christ, and the resurrection of the body, that anchors him. He does not write with the range or the verve of *Immortality*. His graver style is the better style for the subject. And it is the style of one who is more concerned to give reasons for the faith Churchmen already hold, sometimes to 'restate' it for them, than to win vagrant minds. That is natural in a book which has grown out of lectures given in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral under the auspices of a diocesan society for the promotion of higher education in religious knowledge. Thought often works more satisfactorily within a boundary ; especially when it deals with such a subject as immortality. After all we are reaching as best we can into the unknown. If we believe in God we believe in life eternal. For further definition analogy helps but a little way. Scientific observation of mind dominating matter clears the ground. But the witness of the New Testament must always have a great deal of authority to guide and to check speculation. The New Testament is the expression of a most uncommon experience. Whatever else it may be, at least it is that ; and up to the present that experience remains the chief element in the evidence within our reach.

The Will to Freedom, or the Gospel of Nietzsche and the Gospel of Christ, being the Bross Lectures delivered in Lake Forest College, Illinois. By the Rev. JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, D.D., Litt.D. of the Community of the Resurrection, Honorary Fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge. (Longmans, 1917.)

'His teaching in some respects, not all, we may deplore. His picture of our holy religion is a caricature with hardly an element of likeness. His system, so far as he has a system, may seem childish. Yet Nietzsche remains. We shall always return to him ; and the Alpine clearness of the atmosphere he breathes braces, like his own Engadine. His opinions may be what you will, but Friedrich Nietzsche, the man, we love and shall go on loving, even when he hits us hardest. He said himself that in controversy we should be severe towards opinions, but tender towards the individual. That may well form our maxim in dealing with Friedrich Nietzsche.'

Those sentences indicate the spirit of this book. It is the outcome of a long companionship ; it is appreciative, critical, affectionate, severe ; and it is solid as well as brilliant. The life is told with understanding of its stimulants and irritants and thwarting forces. The Nietzschean gospel is set forth with its opposing principles, resignation in the *amor fati*, and the 'will to power'. Nietzsche's attitude to Christianity is sympathetically examined, his abnegation of self is recognised, his real antagonism becomes clear in the end—the antagonism perhaps of the weak for the strong. His originality is found to be an illusion ; much

of the charm of his writing 'lies in its power to call up memories'. That 'charm' gets a delightful chapter to itself. It is various and it is faulty, but its permanent strength may be referred to Nietzsche's real desire for freedom, and to the contagion of his personal thrill—the 'dance of Dionysos'. Finally he is shewn to be truly dangerous, all the more because he has no code but breathes a spirit. Yearn as he may for freedom he magnifies power, and 'however much of interpretation we may put upon his writings, we cannot do away with the radical distinction between a gospel of Power and a gospel of Freedom'.

One half-protest may be allowed. Dr Figgis distributes Nietzsche's books into three periods and would have all interpreted by the last: 'When we speak of the Nietzschean doctrine, it is of this last period that we speak. . . . The most misleading of all ways of reading Nietzsche is to regard anything said in *Human, All Too Human* as authoritative for his later and most characteristic stage.' This may be true for the judge passing sentence, but its iteration almost discourages the pleasure we would fain take in, say, *The Birth of Tragedy* and the *Dawn of Day*. If we would learn from Nietzsche, it seems not unreasonable to put against his 'Pulcrum est paucorum hominum' that more generous thought about the 'Banquet of many'.—'How happy we are when fed like the birds by the hands of one who distributes to the birds without closely examining them or testing their worth. Happy to live like a bird that comes and flies away and carries no name in its beak. I think it delightful to sit and partake of the banquet of many.'

Ordered Liberty: or an Englishman's Belief in his Church, being the Hulsean Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge for 1916-1917. By A. S. DUNCAN-JONES, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, formerly Fellow and Dean of Gonville and Caius College. (Longmans, 1917.)

MR DUNCAN-JONES defends the historic position of the Church of England and defines the contribution she ought to make to the true universal Church as that universal Church shall be in the future. He knows the theoretical difficulties of her position and the practical hindrances of her faults. But his loyalty is affectionate, reverent, and convinced. A few quotations will shew the spirit in which he writes:—

'We are in the presence of a new "Aufklärung" of the multitude. . . . But Christianity is committed to the past. . . . Priesthood, the belief in a holy people the guardians of the revelation of God who manifests himself in time, is inherent in Christianity. . . . The Church of England has never failed of devout sons who saw in the episcopate the pledge of continuity—a concrete reality expressing a spiritual vision,

which is the historic Church. . . . This value remains while the insistence upon the episcopate as a monarchical form of government will not bear examination. . . . But we may well believe that these traces of mediævalism are the growing pains of something which is working towards a Christian government of living reality.'

'The Christian religion is involved in an institution, because it believes in the Incarnation of God. And God Himself is to its view, even apart from the Incarnation, closely connected with the temporal unfolding of events. But He is what He is independently of the things of time. They are His revelation. Similarly the Church, though closely interwoven with its historical manifestation is essentially the body of the Ascended Christ. Its historical manifestations, all that we have called priesthood, the order, the Sacraments and the very ceremonies are valuable to us because they are a pledge and a realisation of the end for which all things were made, the free and interior union of men with Divinity and with one another, and the redemption of all creation.'

'The principles of Anglicanism are the principles of the Catholic Church. All that they need is to be shorn of their provincialism, to emerge into that larger air which is the breath of the universal body.'

'Catholicism—that is the concrete, complete and continuous embodiment of the super-sensuous home.'

It is impossible to shorten or to better the summary which Mr Duncan-Jones gives of his argument before he turns (in chapter v) to 'The hope of the future':—

'We have been considering the Anglican communion under various aspects. We have thought of it as sharing in the Divine foundation and continuous life of the People of God, as part of that great priesthood of humanity which is the Catholic Church. We went on to see that, while holding fast to this essential unity, the English people was forced by the tyranny of corruption, which had become more and more involved in the Roman government of western Christendom, to make a bold national experiment in the way of religion, whereby the ancient fabric and faith of Catholicism were retained, but the freedom which comes from new life was welcomed. It is this combination of conservatism and progress, of authority and liberty, which led me to speak of the English Church as, from the human point of view, the most characteristic product of the English spirit. This impression is confirmed when we return, as we did in the third lecture, to the question of the Faith. Here its ideal, however far it may fall short of it, is a candid but firm hold of the ancient credenda combined with a calm courage in face of searching criticism, which is neither burked nor abused, not because the Church wishes to make accommodations with the world, but because orthodoxy is its aim, and orthodoxy demands the Spirit of Wisdom, which will teach Christendom in the future as it has done in the past.'

Such a 'large and liberal conception of Catholicism' the Anglican

Church should offer 'with faith, but with humility to the other great branches of the Church'. This 'claim and aspiration are not simple'. Our strong point is that we have 'never claimed to be the whole Catholic Church', and mere Anglicanism has only been 'its chrysalis stage'. The weak point lies in the difficulty of justifying the Reformation. May we be satisfied with Mr Duncan-Jones's plea of necessity and his approval of our 'national experiment' as of a venture touched with genius? Or must we fall back on the actual state of things in the present and the plain duty of rising to that noble use of it to which we are called? What troubles delicate consciences is the misgiving that the Anglican Church does not foster saintliness. We have had our George Herberts. We pray for 'a godly, righteous, and sober life, a pure and holy life, to the glory of God'. It would be difficult to go deeper than that. Yet there is something else, to most of us something extravagant, which Rome, with many inconsistencies, still understands, and which may be a note of 'catholicism'.—'Where no oxen are the crib is clean: but much increase is by the strength of the ox'. Here is a problem of which not a few brief utterances of Mr Duncan-Jones prove him conscious; nowhere more so than in his charitable and judicious appendix on 'The reservation of the Eucharist'. Would that he might devote an extra chapter to the careful discussion of it.

A. NAIRNE.

Studies in English Franciscan History. By A. G. LITTLE. (Manchester University Press. 1917.)

MR LITTLE's admirable Ford lectures of 1916 are published by a different University from that which heard them. We must be grateful to our chief authority on the Franciscans for the full and various knowledge that he imparts, and for his correction of the old error that the Friars deliberately chose unhealthy sites for their homes; an error into which it was natural enough that Brewer should fall in 1858. Within six lectures Mr Little could deal only with selected topics, and he did wisely in treating fully those which he took, and also in shewing how defective are the materials with which, for the later period, he had to do his best. What we most miss is a description of the Franciscan constitutional system, locally and as a whole. Mr Little's facts about the endowments, such as they were, of the Franciscans are interesting. They had in some cases a few paddocks which served as a home-farm; but when Mr Little argues to cultivation from a sale of produce, it must be regarded as possible that alms given in kind were being turned into cash. On this business side we are now well informed, since we can turn to Mr Little's own *Grey Friars in Oxford* and Mr Kingsford's

Grey Friars of London as well as to the present book, and it is not likely that we shall have anything to unlearn as regards their revenues, their system of trusts, or their mode of life. But it would be interesting to be informed about the Minoresses, whose house in London was endowed to quite a respectable extent. On the other hand, some of the houses of Friars were miserably poor at their dissolution, as appears from the product of the sale of their effects; unless, indeed, the outgoing clerks had helped themselves to their furniture and other belongings, as is quite possible. Since the Grey Friars are not, save for the romance of their beginning, more interesting than the three rival Orders, we must hope that such attention will soon be paid to the Dominican, the Austin, and the Carmelite Friars, as Mr Little is paying to the Franciscans. He is setting an admirable pattern to other students.

Staffordshire Incumbents and Parochial Records, 1530—1680. By W. N. LANDOR. (London: St Catherine Press. 1916.)

THERE is no better Archaeological Society in England than that which is named after William Salt, and it has published no better work than this volume, which in several ways adds to the knowledge of English history as well as to that of local antiquities. Mr Landor has had peculiar difficulties. The diocesan records have been his chief source, and the ordination registers from 1554 to 1662 have vanished; while peculiar jurisdictions, extra-parochial places and donatives or other cures without institution so abounded in Staffordshire, that not much more than half the benefices had the appointment of their incumbents enrolled in the Bishops' registers. In no county had there been more appropriation, and the poverty in the perpetual curacies was great. Mr Landor produces cases of 'diet' as a source of livelihood for the clergy. Had he found instances of clothing being provided, there would have been an exact reproduction of the 'sarkgate and whittlegate' of Cumberland and Westmorland. But when, among his general conclusions, he states that nearly one-half of the clergy had an income of less than £11 per annum in 1604, and only three out of ten had more than £27, one must suspect deliberate understatement, perhaps in view of taxation. By that date lay encroachment on clerical incomes had been suppressed, and the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1835 dealing with exactly the same sources of revenue, though it discloses many cases of poverty, does not shew anything like such an economical depression among the clergy when due allowance is made for the changed value of money. Mr Landor gives in one of his valuable appendices specimens of clerical wills. The testators farmed their glebes, and it is a reasonable assumption that they neither stated

the profits of their agriculture as part of their clerical income nor, since it would pass from one of their pockets into another, assigned any rent-value to their glebe.

Mr Landor's generalizations are of great value ; the most important had best be stated in his own words : '(1) Nearly all the Staffordshire parish clergy acquiesced in the Henrician, Edwardian, and Marian religious settlements ; (2) not more than two-thirds of the Marian incumbents ultimately conformed to the Elizabethan settlement ; (3) about four-fifths of the episcopalian clergy conformed more or less to the Commonwealth settlement ; (4) about 54 per cent. of the ministers conformed in 1662, including the old episcopalian clergy who had conformed during the Interregnum ; (5) about two-thirds of the ministers established during the Commonwealth (i. e. excluding these episcopalians) did not conform in 1662.' In regard to the third point, the poverty of so many livings is relevant. It would be interesting to learn how many comfortable benefices were left to those who objected to the discipline of Westminster. Any that were so favoured had doubtless influential connexions on the Parliamentary side ; and (so far as a stranger to Staffordshire can judge) the social position of many of the clergy, even under Elizabeth, corresponded rather to Babington's picture than to Macaulay's. There is a striking example of favour shewn to an eminent Puritan in the case of John Lightfoot, the Cambridge Hebraist, who was rector of Ashley from 1630 till his death in 1675. Mr Norris, who is confirmed by the list of members of the Westminster Assembly, convicts the *Dictionary of National Biography* of error in saying that he resigned Ashley in 1642. Such favour to a non-resident was doubtless even more exceptional than favour to a Royalist ; but Lightfoot was well connected.

Among other points of interest is the prevalence of Roman Catholicism under Elizabeth, and not only among the gentry. Wolverhampton was called 'little Rome' ; in 1604 the people of Cannock were 'almost all papists, as is commonly seen in the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of Lichfield'. Peculiar jurisdictions were inefficient, as appeared after the Restoration, when the Bishop of Exeter had to complain of the encouragement given to Devonshire Nonconformists by the survival of Puritan worship in the Salisbury peculiar of Lyme Regis, just beyond his border. But it would take too much space even to indicate the matters of importance on which Mr Landor's volume throws light ; he must be thanked most heartily for his work, and not the less because in some obvious respects he has not exhausted information that was easily accessible. It is sad that he has not completed his story by carrying it down to the secessions of the Nonjurors.

E. W. WATSON.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1918 (Vol. lxxxvi, No. 171 : Spottiswoode & Co.). H. D. OAKELEY Education and national unity—J. S. B. BROUGH Religion in the Army—J. C. PRINGLE Competing ideals in the Pacific—W. JENKINSON London colleges, hospitals, and schools in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature: Part I—H. P. K. SKIPTON Community life in the Church of England since the Reformation—A. C. HEADLAM The bishopric of Hereford—BISHOP OF ELY The story of Gorgonia and reservation of the Eucharist—The War: the dismemberment of Russia—H. D. OAKELEY The idea of God in the light of recent philosophy—A. C. HEADLAM The training of the clergy in Oxford—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1918 (Vol. xvi, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). E. TROUBETZKOY The meaning of life, and of the world, revealed by the Cross—S. A. BROOKE Shelley's interpretation of Christ and His teaching—G. K. CHESTERTON Stopford Brooke—F. S. MARVIN Ground for hope—C. F. THWING Prospects of liberal education after the War—R. H. DOTTERER The doctrine of a finite God in war-time thought—P. MAGNUS The Book of Jonah—W. R. LETHABY What shall we call beautiful?—I. ABRAHAMS Palestine and Jewish nationality—F. WATSON Erasmus at Louvain—E. F. CARRITT Prayers in time of war—R. H. COATES Birmingham mystics—Survey and signed reviews.

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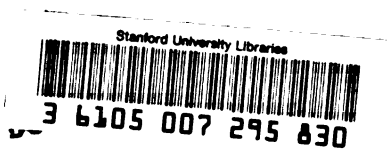
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(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1918 (Vol. xvi, No. 1: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD The terminology of love in the New Testament I—R. D. WILSON What does 'the sun stood still' mean?—W. H. ROBERTS The General Synod of the Presbyterian Church—W. H. JOHNSON Atheistic Christianity—W. B. GREENE, JR. The Christian doctrine of War—H. N. RUSSELL, O. T. ALLIS Notes and notices—Reviews of recent literature.

The American Journal of Theology, April 1918 (Vol. xxii, No. 2: University of Chicago Press). C. H. CUNNINGHAM The ecclesiastical influence in the Philippines (1565-1850)—A. E. GARVIE Recent progress of the Free Churches in England—J. W. THOMPSON Church and State in mediaeval Germany—A. C. WATSON The primary problem for an empirical theology—H. L. STEWART James Anthony Froude and Anglo-Catholicism—F. H. FOSTER Some theistic implications of Bergson's philosophy.



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